

THE ECLECTIC REVIEW,

FOR APRIL, 1821.

Art. I. *Memoirs of the Protector, Oliver Cromwell, and of his Sons, Richard and Henry.* Illustrated by Original Letters and other Family Papers. By Oliver Cromwell, Esq. A Descendant of the Family. With Portraits from Original Pictures. 4to. pp. xvi, 734. London. 1820.

THESE bulky Memoirs may be considered as, in legal phrase, *a brief* for the historian. They were begun, Mr. Cromwell states, without any view to their publication, merely as the amusement of the Writer's leisure hours. They consist of a series of extracts from the several contemporary histories of the transactions in which Oliver was concerned, collated and confronted with each other, and accompanied with the Compiler's own remarks, which are, in general, sensible and pertinent, and so perfectly free from all tincture of party spirit or bitterness, that where they fail to please or to convince, they cannot possibly offend. The feeling of partiality discovered towards his great ancestor, (which will be considered as either pardonable or honourable, according to the previous sentiments of his readers,) never betrays the Writer into a tone of boastful panegyric, or into any thing bordering on misrepresentation. Upon the whole, the work, though very defective in point of arrangement, and bearing strong internal marks of the desultory manner in which it was compiled, reflects honour on the Author's character as a man of an excellent spirit and a sound understanding. It is not a very *readable* performance, but it presents a mass of valuable materials to those who know how to make a right use of them, and comprises, certainly, the most complete, as well as the most correct view that is to be obtained from any single volume, of the character of Oliver Cromwell.

The work is distributed, rather arbitrarily, into fifteen chapters. The first four are introductory, and take a review of affairs up to August 1642. The next three chapters pursue the

narrative from the time when Cromwell first began to act a prominent part, to the period of his refusing the title of King. In the eighth chapter, the Protector's private character is made the subject of investigation, or rather of defence. In the succeeding six, his public character is vindicated. The last chapter is occupied with the characters of Richard and Henry Cromwell. The work, it will be seen, is more historical than biographical, a very small part of it being occupied with details immediately relating to Cromwell's personal history; nor do the chapters follow in the order of narrative, but are rather distinct essays upon the most important transactions. The nature of those transactions, and the character of Oliver or that of Charles, are very distinct subjects of inquiry; and it is a gross mistake, to make either of them singly responsible for the events of that unhappy period, or to try the merits of the national contest by the private character of the rival parties. The grand lesson which the history of that contest reads us, is altogether obscured by those party representations which have for their sole object to blazon the public and private virtues of their hero. A design to exalt the character of Charles, evidently formed the leading motive that prompted Clarendon and other writers to palliate the misgovernment of his reign. In Hume, a partiality to the Stuarts, natural enough in a Scotchman, but not quite worthy of the philosopher, betrays itself continually: combining with his hatred of the Whigs and of Christianity, it has led him not unfrequently to substitute for historical fact the play of his own imagination. His great work partakes, in many parts, more of the spirit of the drama, than of the genius and truth of history. To powers like his, invention was both more congenial and less difficult than the disgusting labour of research; it is no wonder, therefore, that he should occasionally indulge in a train of elegant and philosophical speculation that superseded the careful process of induction. Were it, however, admitted that Charles was both a saint and a martyr, and Cromwell a hypocritical villain, the admission would not in the slightest degree implicate the justice of the Parliamentary cause, or the sincerity and public virtue of many who engaged in it.

The important conclusion which is to be drawn from the contest and its issue, we conceive to be mainly this: that a free government depends for its very existence, on the equipoise and independence of the Executive and Legislative functions, and that a free government can never be established by violence. There is no better definition, perhaps, of political liberty, than that it consists in being governed by laws made with the consent of the people. When all the power is vested in the legislature, there exists, properly speaking, no government; for government necessarily includes a monarchical power to which the legislature

itself is subject. When all the power is vested in the ruler, there is no freedom, because the subject has no security: such a government, therefore, is a pure despotism. But what is power? Power practically consists either in the possession of the purse, or in that of the sword; and the wisdom of our ancestors, which has lodged these in separate estates, has made the best conceivable provision for preserving the integrity of the constitution. Charles snatched at the purse, and, as the consequence, the Parliament in self-defence usurped the sword; and that being unsheathed, neither party durst confide in the other so far as to put it up again. In such a contest, whichever side be victor, liberty is sure to suffer, inasmuch as success in either case will unavoidably partake of the nature of usurpation.

Under the Tudors, the English monarchy, no longer controlled by the formidable power of the barons, or menaced by rival claims to the crown, was little less than a despotism. The accession of James I. is the era from which we may date the first movements of that spirit of liberty which animated the Commons in their subsequent resistance to the encroachments of the Royal prerogative in the reign of his son. That spirit had, no doubt, its origin, partly in the increase of commerce, which threw the balance of property into the hands of the Commons; partly in the extraordinary impulse given to the public mind by the revival of learning and the Reformation. From the enthusiastic study of the Greek and Roman classics were derived those prejudices in favour of a republican form of government, which were entertained by many of the most virtuous and accomplished men of that day; while the light let into men's minds by the preaching of the Reformers and the translation of the Scriptures, rendered it impossible longer to maintain that absolute dominion which prelacy had hitherto exerted over their consciences. The first differences between James and his Parliament respected supplies of money: the next related to the power claimed by the Church.

The great depreciation of money which took place in the reign of James I., while it inflamed the discontent, tended to increase the power of the Commons, by rendering the monarch at once more necessitous and more unpopular. Their inexorable parsimony in granting supplies, did not, it is probable, proceed entirely from a jealousy of the Crown, and a wish to extort concessions in favour of liberty: it was in part justified by the state of the country. The violent measures, however, to which Charles had recourse in order to render himself independent of parliamentary supplies, his repeated dissolutions of Parliament, and the intemperate menaces by which, when reduced to the necessity of calling a fresh Parliament, he attempted to bully them into obedience, left no other alternative to the distinguished

patriots in the House of Commons, than the course of constitutional resistance which they adopted as guardians of the public purse. It was the mildest form in which that resistance could have been made to acts of illegal violence and threats of still more oppressive injustice. It does not appear that religious matters formed any part of the grievances by which the ill humour of the Commons, as Hume terms it, was originally occasioned. 'The grievances by which we are oppressed,' said Sir Robert Philips, 'I draw under two heads; acts of power against law, and the judgements of lawyers against our liberty.' 'But the great article,' says Hume, 'on which the House of Commons broke with the King, and which finally created in Charles a disgust to all Parliaments, was, their claim with regard to tonnage and poundage.' And it was the imposition of the ship money, that finally prepared the whole nation for taking part with the Commons in revolt.

The encouragement given to Popery by the Court, could not indeed fail to inflame still further the discontent of the Commons, connected as it was with the most atrocious acts of ecclesiastical tyranny. Accordingly, in Pym's celebrated speech about grievances, given by Rushworth, this is the second branch of the threefold sort of grievances complained of: 'some against the privilege of Parliament; others to the prejudice of religion; and some against the liberty of the subject.' Under the second head, after specifying the various ways in which a direct encouragement had been given to the Papists, the speaker complains of certain 'innovations in religion,' and of the 'discouragements of Protestants by over-rigid prosecutions of the scrupulous for things indifferent.' The punishing without law for not reading the Book of Sports, and for preaching on the Lord's day in the afternoon, as well as other encroachments of ecclesiastical jurisdiction, particularly the publication of new canons and the infliction of fines and imprisonment without law, are specifically enumerated. It will not be pretended, that these grounds of remonstrance were either unfounded or frivolous. They were not of a dogmatical nature; they had no relation to the interests of Puritanism, but were directed solely against measures and proceedings which struck at the liberty of the subject and the security of the Protestant cause.

The real Puritans formed but a very small proportion of the nation. The extension of the class so designated, was chiefly owing to the short-sighted policy of a licentious Court, and the insidious efforts of the Papists. Sir Benjamin Rudyard complained, that, under the name of Puritans, all sound Protestants were branded. 'Whosoever squares his actions by any rule either Divine or human, he is a Puritan; whosoever would be governed by the king's laws, he is a Puritan; whosoever will

'not do whatsoever other men would have him do, he is a Puritan; their great work, their master-piece, now, is to make all those of the religion, to be the suspected party of the kingdom.*' By this means, the term came to stand for every thing that was respectable in the nation. It would have been marvellous indeed, had the Puritan party, in the short space of time which had elapsed since its origin, found means to engross so large a portion of the territorial wealth of the nation as to give them an ascendancy in the representation of the country. The contrary was the fact. Except in the enlarged acceptation of the word, the majority of the members of the House of Commons were not Puritans, certainly not Presbyterians. The number of those who had any interest in bringing about a change in the form of ecclesiastical government, was very inconsiderable. Nothing is more incontestible, than that the sin or glory of originating the great rebellion, rests upon the heads of Episcopalians. The religious innovations complained of, were such as all sound churchmen must have viewed with alarm. The proceedings of the Star Chamber itself would probably have attracted little attention, if clergymen had not been its victims, and if its severities towards Protestants had not been accompanied with such open encouragements to Popery. The political doctrines avowed by Laud's creatures among the clergy, the suspension of Archbishop Abbot for refusing to licence Sibthorpe's sermon, and the indecent conduct of the Court in the case of Manwaring, must have tended in no small degree to excite the public indignation against the high church party, and more especially against Laud their arch-patron. But these, again, were political rather

* Mrs. Hutchinson gives a similar representation. 'If any were griev'd at the dishonor of the kingdome or the griping of the poore, or the iniust oppressions of the subject by a thousand wayes, he was a Puritane: if any, out of mere morallity and civill honesty, discountenanc'd the abominations of those days, he was a Puritane, however he conform'd to their superstitious worship: if any shew'd favour to any godly honest person, kept them company, reliev'd them in want, or protected them against violent or iniust oppression, he was a Puritane: if any gentleman in his country maintain'd the good lawes of the land, or stood up for any publick interest, for good order or government, he was a Puritane: in short, all that crost the views of the needie courtiers, the proud encroaching priests, the thievish proiectors, the lewd nobillity and gentry, whoever was zealous for God's glory or worship..... whoever could endure a sermon, modest habitt or conversation, or anything good, all these were Puritanes; and if Puritanes, then enemies to the king, seditious factious hypocrites, ambitious disturbers of the publick peace, and finally, the pest of the kingdome.'

Memoirs of Col. Hutchinson. 4to. pp. 61, 2.

than religious grounds of dissatisfaction. Nor is the zeal discovered by the low party against Arminianism to be considered as having reference simply to theological differences of opinion. Arminianism was identified with Popery; it was considered as striking at the fundamental article of the reformed faith; it was brought into the Church along with the dogma of passive obedience and the Popish innovations of Laud; and it was the professed religion of the dissolute and infidel courtiers: on all these accounts, it was viewed with an abhorrence that is not wholly to be resolved into the *odium theologicum*. But for the atrocities of Laud, and the tyranny of the Prelates, it is very questionable whether the contest between the King and the Parliament would ever have assumed a religious complexion. Nothing could have made Presbyterianism palatable to the English nation, but its being associated in their minds with civil liberty; an association which had its origin entirely in the arbitrary and scandalous conduct of the rulers of the English Church.

The rigid Presbyterians in the House of Commons are represented by Rapin as having long concealed their hatred of Episcopacy. Their number, he says, was so small that 'they would have made no figure in Parliament, had they not been supported by the Scots, whose aid they could not be without.' Their Presbyterianism, we apprehend, would have remained as quiescent and as harmless as the speculative republicanism of another party, had it not been for the extraordinary excitement furnished by the circumstances of the times. It is too much for credulity itself to believe, that so chimerical a scheme as that of establishing Presbytery on the ruins of the Church, was cherished, in the beginning of the disputes with the Crown, by any of the parliamentary leaders. We have remarked, that an enthusiasm for a republican form of government was much more likely to have a classical than a theological origin. It is, however, possible, that the flourishing condition of the Dutch commonwealth, and the spirit of liberty by which it was animated, might in some degree contribute to recommend that form of government; especially as Holland was at that time the heart of the Protestant interest. Presbyterianism was no doubt originally imported from that quarter. But the republicans in this country were very few; while most of the Presbyterians were decidedly attached to the monarchy, and were too inconsiderable a minority in the nation to aim at bringing about any alterations in the constitution of the Church. To be protected against the arbitrary severities of the High Commission Court, was all that they could at first hope to obtain by means of Parliamentary influence. The case was widely different in Scotland: there Presbyterianism was the religion of the people, and the civil war assumed from the first, the character of a religious or ecclesiastical contest. The example

of Scotland, and the pretence of a uniformity of discipline throughout the two kingdoms, were the considerations which, enforced by the conduct of the Bishops and the intrigues of the Scotch, swayed the Parliament to substitute a Presbyterian form of church-government for the Diocesan model in this country; so that it was the insane and despotic attempt to force Episcopacy upon the Scotch, that, by rousing that nation to resistance, ultimately led to its overthrow here.* From Scotland, the flame of religious enthusiasm communicated itself to the South, where political grievances had till then, mainly, if not exclusively, occupied the minds of men. From Scotland came the notions of the Divine right of Presbytery, and the paramount nature of ecclesiastical jurisdiction, together with what may be termed those *theocratic* ideas of civil government, which are characteristic of that theological school. The London Petition against Bishops, presented to the House December 11, 1640, ended with representing, 'that the Bishops having occasioned the war with Scotland, this war could be terminated only with the suppression of Episcopacy.' Still, it was arbitrary power, under the name of Episcopacy, that was sought to be abolished. Rapin remarks, that among those who spoke for the Bishops, there was not one who denied that the Prelates had abused their power. So far was this sentiment from being confined to men of sectarian principles, that the loyal and accomplished Lord Falkland was among those who distinguished themselves by taking part in the debate against the Bishops. He said: We shall find them to have tythed mint and anise, and have left undone the weightier works of the law; to have been less eager upon those who damn our church, than upon those who,

* In the treaty between the King and the Scotch, concluded August 7, 1641, the Eighth Demand insisted on by the latter, contains, among other articles: 'That there be unity in religion, and uniformity of church-government between the two nations.' To which the King answers: 'His Majesty, with the advice of both Houses of Parliament, doth approve of the affection of his subjects, in their desire of having a conformity of church-government between the two Nations; and as the Parliament hath already taken into consideration the reformation of church-government, so they will proceed in due time as shall best conduce to the glory of God, the peace of the Church, and of both kingdoms.' It is certain, that this idea of establishing a uniformity between the churches of England and Scotland, influenced many of the most upright politicians who had no sectarian predilections, in preferring the Presbyterian model. Several members of the House of Commons who spoke against the abolition of Episcopacy, afterwards signed the 'solemn league and covenant.'

‘ upon weak conscience, and perhaps as weak reason, (the
 ‘ dislike of some commanded garment, or some uncommanded
 ‘ posture,) only abstained from it. Nay, it hath been more
 ‘ dangerous for men to go to some neighbour’s parish, when
 ‘ they had no sermon of their own, than to be obstinate and per-
 ‘ petual Recusants; while masses have been said in security, a
 ‘ conventicle hath been a crime; and which is yet more, the con-
 ‘ forming to ceremonies hath been more exacted, than the
 ‘ conforming to Christianity; and whilst men for scruples
 ‘ have been undone, for attempts at unnatural crimes they
 ‘ have only been admonished.’ Yet it has been said, that the
 Presbyterian party in the House, though so inconsiderable,
 were all along the sole instigators of this disaffection to the
 hierarchy; that their secret intention and hidden design was,
 from the first, to introduce Presbyterianism into the Church;
 that their wishes, their patriotism centered and terminated
 in this; and that, while they affected to speak of the State
 only, Religion was the principal thing they had in view.
 This theory, for it is nothing more, is not only perfectly
 gratuitous, but carries improbability on the face of it. First,
 it represents the great body of the House of Commons,
 which comprised at that period some of the acutest and ablest
 men who ever sat there, as the dupes of an inconsiderable
 faction. It represents that faction as succeeding in inspir-
 ing the Episcopalian majority with a jealousy of their own hier-
 archy, while they, the designing conspirators against that hier-
 archy, spoke only of the State. That was ever uppermost, it
 seems, in their minds, of which they spoke the least. Their fa-
 naticism was united with the coolest judgement and the pro-
 foundest wisdom! Next, the hypothesis assumes, what can be
 matter only of conjecture, the hidden motives of men; ascribing
 to the aspersed party, intentions which, judging from their con-
 duct, they did not at that time entertain, and which the impro-
 bability of their being realised, would lead us to imagine they
 could not then entertain. Rapin’s division of the House of
 Commons into politicians or ‘ State puritans,’ and religionists,
 may be correct, if we understand by it no more than this; that
 some were concerned only about political grievances, while
 others had most at heart the interests of religion. But to
 bestow on the latter class the exclusive name of Presbyterian,
 is at once to calumniate the Episcopalians, and to contradict his-
 tory.

A strong feeling on the subject of religion was common
 to all descriptions of Protestants, occasioned by the apprehen-
 sion which was very generally entertained of a design to intro-
 duce Popery. The Presbyterians were far from being the only
 class who on this account desired that the power of the

Bishops should be diminished. In the Declaration of both Houses presented to the King at Newmarket, one especial cause of the people's fears and jealousies is stated to be, 'That the design of altering religion in this and his Majesty's other kingdoms, hath been potently carried on by those in greatest authority for divers years together.' It was the conduct of the Bishops themselves that produced their exclusion from the Upper House, and paved the way for the downfall of the hierarchy. In short, if the characters of the Parliamentary leaders and the tenor of their speeches, if the substance of the declarations, petitions, and remonstrances issued by both Houses—in fact, every historical document that bears on the point; if these are to have any weight, political grievances and political dangers, were what Episcopalians and Presbyterians were alike bent on having redressed and obviated; while a well-founded dread of Popery, and a detestation of arbitrary power, were the true reasons for those alterations in the church government in which men of all parties concurred. Those alterations were introduced neither by dupes, nor by fanatics, nor by sectaries, but by a House of Commons, the major part of which consisted of true patriots and sound Churchmen.

'The speeches of those who first stood most prominently forward in their opposition to the court, shew,' remarks Mr. Cromwell, 'that the opposers of the King's measures were not those only that continued in opposition to the last; but also many who afterwards, from various causes, went over to the King, and some of whom fought in his service: such as Sir Thomas Wentworth, afterwards Earl of Strafford; Sir Benjamin Rudyard, Surveyor-general of the Court of Wards, who was sentenced to death for his subsequent adherence to the King; Mr. Bagshaw, who was slain at Newbury fight; Sir John Culpeper, who went to the King at Oxford; Mr. (afterwards Sir Harbottle) Grimston, who was made Speaker of the House of Commons at the Restoration, and subsequently Master of the Rolls; Lord Falkland, who lost his life in the King's service; Lord Digby, who was, soon after the passing the bill of attainder of Lord Strafford, in arms for the King; Lord Capel, who suffered death for his adherence to the King; and Mr. Edward Hyde, afterwards Lord Clarendon, who quitted the Parliament and went to the King at Oxford.'

Oliver Cromwell would never have acquired a less enviable fame than distinguishes the illustrious names of Hampden and Pym, and his other early compeers, had it not been for his military talents and personal bravery. Till he found himself at the head of a troop of horse, it is probable that he was not fully conscious of his own powers; nor would his towering spirit, or the latent energies of his character, ever have had under other circumstances, scope for development. His family connexions had introduced him to Parliament, as representative for Hunt-

ington, so early as 1625. He was returned a second time by the same town, to the third parliament of Charles I. in 1627; and again in April, 1640, he took his seat in the Short Parliament as member for Cambridge. It has been pretended, that he owed his first introduction to the House of Commons, to the influence of a discontented rabble, who disliked the drainage of the fens. The absurdity of this representation is sufficiently manifest from the fact, that nothing had been done in this drainage since the reign of King James till the 6th of Charles I. (1631), when Cromwell had been twice returned to Parliament; and the point of time fixed on by Sir P. Warwick as the date of the supposed tumultuous proceedings, is 1638, by which time the drainage was completed. 'The fact appears to be,' remarks Mr. Cromwell, 'that the dissatisfaction expressed (whether tumultuously or otherwise) was not of (at) the drainage, which could not but be seen by all to be a great national benefit; but it must have been to the injustice of taking it out of the hands of the Earl of Bedford, after the great expense he and his undertakers had incurred in carrying it on to completion.' In 1649, Cromwell received the thanks of the then Earl of Bedford and others for the part he had taken in forwarding the ordinance passed in that year for the drainage. In the Long Parliament, he became very conspicuous as a member of various committees; and, as he was no orator, he must have been indebted for distinction either to his personal consideration and family connexions, or to his talents for business. Six days after the opening of the session, he was appointed one of the committee upon Leighton's and Lilburn's petitions, with Mr. Hampden, Mr. Holles, Lord Digby, Mr. St. John, Mr. Selden, Mr. Grimston, and others; and about a month after, we find him associated on another committee with Mr. Holles, Mr. Comptroller, Mr. Hampden, Mr. Capel, Lord Digby, Mr. Selden and Mr. Grimston. He was one of a committee of the 13th of February, 1641, upon a bill 'for the abolishing of superstition and idolatry, and for the better advancing of the true worship and service of God,' with Mr. Hampden, Lord Falkland, Mr. Hyde, Mr. Holles, and Mr. Selden. In short, he was in no fewer than twenty committees between the 17th of December, 1641, and the 20th of June in the following year.

The character given by Hume of the Parliamentary leaders, is strangely contradictory; but, speaking of the Parliament of 1625, he admits that 'the House of Commons was at that period almost entirely governed by a set of men* of the most

* 'Among these,' says Hume, 'we may mention the names of Sir Edward Coke, Sir Edwin Sandys, Sir Robert Philips, Sir Francis Seymour, Sir Dudley Digges, Sir John Elliot, Sir Thomas Wentworth,

'uncommon capacity and the largest views;' 'generous patriots' who, 'animated with a warm regard to liberty, saw with regret an unbounded power exercised by the Crown, and resolved to seize the opportunity which the King's necessities afforded them, of reducing the prerogative within more reasonable compass.' The views of the popular leaders in the third Parliament are termed 'judicious and profound.' The House is stated to have been manifestly composed of 'men of the same independent spirit with their predecessors,' (in fact, they were for the most part the same individuals,) 'and possessed of such riches, that their property was computed to surpass three times that of the House of Peers.' By them was framed and presented the Petition of Right, and in the same session was the claim made to a control over the levying of tonnage and poundage, in which the grand breach with the King originated. The meeting of the Long Parliament is stated by Hume to have been the period at which 'genius and capacity of all kinds, freed from the restraint of authority, and nourished by unbounded hopes and projects, began to exert themselves, and be distinguished by the public.' Yet he adds, that 'men of the most moderate tempers and the most attached to the Church and Monarchy, exerted themselves with the utmost vigour in the redress of grievances;' and that 'in their present actions and discourses, *an entire concurrence and unanimity* was observed.' As among the moderate men, the 'patriot royalists,' Hume specifies Digby, Capel, Palmer, Hyde, and Falkland; to whom he opposes Pym, Hampden, St. John, Hollis, and Vane. The above concession is most important; but the historian goes further, and adds, in concluding the chapter, that 'if we take a survey of the transactions of this memorable parliament during the first period of its operations,' (that is, up to the King's departure for Scotland,) 'we shall find that, excepting Strafford's attainder, which was a complication of cruel iniquity, their merits in other respects so much outweigh their mistakes, as to entitle them to praise from all lovers of liberty.' The *manner* of proceeding against Lord Strafford, and the nature of the sentence, were very warmly deprecated by many; fifty-nine members of the

'Mr. Selden, and Mr. Pym.' These were the men by whom the House was, we are told, '*almost entirely governed*.' In a subsequent paragraph, Hume states that this same House was 'much governed by the Puritanical party.' Did these men, then, belong to that party? But what is 'the infallible symptom of the prevalence of that party,' on which the latter assertion is grounded? 'The extreme rage against popery was a *sure characteristic* of puritanism!' So says Mr. Hume: so thought Archbishop Laud.

Commons' House voting against the Bill of Attainder, and only two hundred and four for it. But the motion for his impeachment had met with the universal approbation of the House. The imprudent publication of the names of the minority who voted against the Bill of Attainder, is stated by May to have been the cause of many of the members forsaking the Parliament. Among these was Lord Digby, who declared his condemnation on such grounds to be a real murder, but at the same time expressed himself in the strongest terms as to Strafford's tyrannical practices, the malignity of which, he said, was 'hugely aggravated by those rare abilities of his, of which God had given him the use, but the Devil the application.' Whether Cromwell took any part in this business does not appear: his name is not among the managers of the trial.*

The debate in the House of Commons on passing the Remonstrance, by which the Parliament boldly assumed an attitude of defiance, was the first occasion on which a serious difference of opinion, characterized by some violence, was displayed by the members of that House. It passed by a majority of only eleven voices; the ayes being 159, the noes 148. After the debate, which, it seems, took a very unexpected turn, Cromwell is reported to have told Lord Falkland, that 'had the Remonstrance been rejected, he would have sold all he had the next morning, and never have seen England more, and he knew there were many honest men of the same resolution.' This anecdote goes some way towards proving two things of no small importance: first, that those who were for passing the Remonstrance, were actuated by a belief that the redress of past grievances afforded no security for the future, and that the liberties of the nation depended for their preservation on the firmness and decision of the House of Commons; secondly, that Cromwell had not at that time formed those ambitious schemes which he subsequently realised, but looked no higher than to the securing of the undisturbed enjoyment of his personal liberty and of the rights of conscience, if not in the land of his fathers, in a foreign clime.

On the breaking out of the civil war, Cromwell's first step was, to provide for the defence of the county of Cambridge by sending down arms; and he was ordered by the House to 'move the lord lieutenant for the county, to grant his deputation to some of the inhabitants of the town of Cambridge to train and exercise the inhabitants of that town.' He also seized the magazine in the castle, and hindered the carrying off of the plate from that university. His first rank in the army was simply

* These were Lord Digby, Hampden, Pym, St. John, Sir Walter Earl, Jeoffrey Palmer, Mainard, and Glynn.

that of captain of a troop of horse, which he himself raised; most of the regiment consisting of freeholders and freeholders' sons of the same county, who 'upon matter of conscience engaged in this quarrel.' He is acknowledged to have had a special care to get religious men into his troop; and his reason was not a fanatical one. He perceived that in the first engagements with the King's troops, the Parliament regiments were beaten at every hand. The latter were most of them 'old, decayed serving-men, and tapsters, and such kind of fellows,' while the royal troops were 'gentlemen's sons, younger sons, and persons of quality.' Cromwell tells us, that he pointed this out to Hampden, and said, 'Do you think that the spirits of such base and mean fellows will be ever able to encounter gentlemen, that have honour, and courage, and resolution in them?' Hampden, he adds, replied, that his notion was a good one but impracticable; upon which Cromwell resolved to put it in execution, and he boasts that his regiment was never beaten. His skill in disciplining his troops is admitted by his enemies. Bates states, that 'his men, who in the beginning were unskilful both in handling their arms and managing their horses, by diligence and industry became excellent soldiers; for Cromwell used them daily to look after, feed, and dress their horses, and, when it was needful, to lie together with them on the ground; and besides, taught them to clean and keep their arms bright, and have them ready for service; to choose the best armour, and to arm themselves to the best advantage. Trained up to this kind of military exercise, they excelled all their fellow soldiers in feats of war, and obtained more victories over their enemies.*

We do not think it necessary to discuss the question whether a religious soldier must necessarily be a fanatic or a hypocrite. It is generally agreed that he needs be neither the one nor the other, *unless* he is a Presbyterian. If he is a Roman Catholic, if he fights in the name of a tutelar saint, or if his religion is of a gentlemanly kind, then the military hero is held to be none the worse for not rushing on death without the hope of an hereafter. Nay, if he is a Lutheran, he may go to the field of battle singing psalms, and it shall form an impressive incident in the tale that records his achievements. But Oliver's men not only sang psalms, as we are informed the Earl of Manchester's soldiers did on one occasion: they heard sermons also, and their commander is even said himself to have preached to them. We confess that we have no relish for that strangely complex character which is produced by the union of religious and martial fervour. That Cromwell, however, was at this time sincerely

* See Harris's *Life of Cromwell*. p. 82.

convinced of the justice of the cause in which he had engaged, and sincere in his religious profession, there is not the slightest ground for questioning. His subsequent conduct does not require to be explained by a contrary hypothesis. We know not how, in a cause that must have appeared to him the cause of his country and the cause of religion, he could feel less than enthusiasm, and this enthusiasm must have been wrought up to the highest pitch by success; in which state of mind, the latent ambition of his character might very possibly have ripened into a principle of action long before he was conscious of being influenced by any but patriotic motives. Had he been less sincerely attached to the cause, the treatment he was doomed early to meet with from the Parliament, would very probably have led to his abandoning the party in disgust, as many of his old associates did, before the cause of the King became desperate, and long before he could have hoped to overthrow the Parliament itself, which opposed his elevation. In that case, he would have found no difficulty in making his peace with the King, to whom it does not appear that he ever rendered himself personally obnoxious, on terms that would have amply gratified his most aspiring hopes. He was himself the subject of a base jealousy; and his first steps in the career of usurpation, were all but justified by the principle of self-preservation.

Cromwell's military talents, which alone could have procured his rapid advancement in the army, and gained him the confidence of the troops, must have been generally acknowledged in order to afford a decent pretext for his being excepted from the Self-denying Ordinance. That ordinance is pretended to have been the first of Cromwell's intrigues; but there is not the slightest proof of it. Again, it is said to have been planned by the Independents with the obvious design of ruining the Presbyterian party. This assertion has even less plausibility than the former, for it is impossible to believe that the ordinance would ever have passed the Commons, where the Independents were so insignificant a minority, had such a design been manifest. The fact was, that the Parliamentary army had met with repeated reverses, and this ill success had been freely attributed to the misconduct of certain eminent commanders, of whom, says Rushworth, 'some were thought too fond of a peace, and others over-desirous to spin out the war, and others engaged in such particular feuds that there was little vigorous action to be expected from such disagreeing instruments.' And 'yet,' he adds, 'to search too deep into past miscarriages, or determine in favour of either of those that mutually recriminated each other, might, under their then present circumstances, prove the next danger to suffering a continuance of the same inconveniences.' This was confessedly a very critical dilemma. The differences

between the several commanders ran so high, that it was impossible they should continue to act in concert; and yet the Parliament durst not investigate their conduct, or take any part by recalling the suspected generals. At no moment was their cause in circumstances of so much jeopardy, and never were greater delicacy and precaution requisite in accomplishing what had become a matter of urgent necessity, the placing of the army under Parliamentary control, by devolving the supreme command on one responsible leader. This was the design, and certainly it was the immediate effect, of that singular ordinance which has been so ignorantly ridiculed. So far was it from being adopted from any affected magnanimity, or as a gratuitous show of disinterestedness, that it was advocated by one of the most sagacious members of the House, as the least invidious mode of doing 'equal justice' to the rival generals, and of putting an end to all further dispute, by virtually recalling all of them without implying a censure of any one of them. Rushworth sums up the arguments urged by the promoters of the measure in six reasons; but the true reason was that which he represents as stated hypothetically: 'That *if* there were at present, differences between commanders being parliament men, and *perhaps* of several Houses, by this ordinance equal justice would be done; they would be recalled from command, and by consequence from further dispute or difference, thereby preventing divisions in the army, administering advantages to the enemy;' and 'That the commanders would be the less able to make parties to secure themselves when they had no interest in the Houses, and so become more easily removable or punishable for their neglects and offences committed in the army.' Had the Commons presumed to call in question the conduct of either the Earl of Essex or the Earl of Manchester, to whom, under the clause 'perhaps of several Houses,' there is an obvious reference, it would only have involved them in an open altercation with the Upper House.* Public opinion was in favour of the Lieutenant-general; and Cromwell's subsequent conduct, so far as military skill was concerned, justified the high opinion which was now entertained of his talents. His speech in the House, on the debate which terminated in proposing the Ordinance, exhibits all that prudence and moderation by which he was characterised.

'On the 9th of Dec. (1644)', says Rushworth, 'the Parliament's forces being settled in their winter quarters, and most of the com-

* The ordinance did not, however, pass the Peers without opposition; 'and here,' says Whitelock, 'first began to increase the great difference between the two Houses of Parliament, which swelled to so great a height.'

manders-in-chief who were members of either House of Parliament, being in town, the House of Commons took into consideration the sad condition of the kingdom, in reference to its grievances by the burthen of the war, in case the treaty for a peace which was then propounded, should not take effect, nor the war be effectually prosecuted. After a long debate of this matter, the House voted themselves into a grand committee, where there was a general silence for a good space of time, many looking one upon the other to see who would break the ice, and speak first, in so tender and sharp a point, when at length Lieutenant-general Cromwell stood up, and spoke to this effect :

“ That it was now a time to speak, or for ever to hold the tongue; the important occasion being no less than to save a nation out of a bleeding, nay almost dying condition, which the long continuance of the war had already brought it into ; so that, without more speedy, vigorous, and effectual prosecution of the war, casting off all lingering proceedings, (like soldiers of fortune beyond sea to spin out a war,) we shall make the kingdom weary of us, and hate the name of a parliament ; for, what do the enemy say ? nay, what do many that were friends at the beginning of the parliament ?—even this, that the members of both Houses have got great places and commands, and the sword into their hand ; and, what by interest in the parliament, and what by power in the army, will perpetually continue themselves in grandeur, and not permit the war speedily to end, lest their own power should determine with it. This I speak here to our own faces, is but what others do utter abroad behind our backs. I am far from reflecting on any ; I know the worth of those commanders, members of both Houses, who are yet in power ; but, if I may speak my conscience without reflection on any, I do conceive, if the army be not put into another method, and the war more vigorously prosecuted, the people can bear the war no longer, and will enforce you to a dishonourable peace. But this I would recommend to your prudence, not to insist upon any complaint or oversight of any commander in chief, upon any occasion whatsoever ; for, as I must acknowledge myself guilty of oversights, so I know they can rarely be avoided in military affairs : therefore, waving a strict enquiry into the causes of these things, let us apply ourselves to the remedy, which is most necessary ; and, I hope, we have such true English hearts and zealous affections towards the general weal of our mother-country, as no members of either House will scruple to deny themselves and their own private interests, for the public good, nor account it to be dishonoured to them, whatever the parliament shall resolve upon in this weighty matter.” p. 305.

It is usual to ascribe every speech and every action of Cromwell's to craft ; yet, it would be difficult to point out in this bold and yet conciliatory address, any thing at variance either with matter of fact or honest intention. The truth of his representations does not appear to have been controverted ; and, granting their truth, the proposed measure was the wisest that could have been adopted. Nor is it any proof of sinister intention on the

part of Cromwell, that the very measure which made the Parliament master of the army, eventually made him master of the Parliament. Under the then existing circumstances, it was of the first importance that it should be under their control. It had hitherto consisted of three independent divisions under the command of as many peers, of whom the House of Commons entertained that jealousy which ill-success is too apt to create without sufficient reason, but which, considering the numerous defections which had taken place from the Parliamentary cause, was not wholly unreasonable. Ludlow says, that by this time it was clearly manifest that the nobility had no further quarrel with the King, than till they could make their terms with him. And Mrs. Hutchinson intimates, that the Earl of Essex had used expressions which shewed that he and the other commanders endeavoured to become arbiters of war and peace, rather than conquerors for the Parliament. On the passing of the Ordinance, Essex, Denbigh, and Manchester resigned their commissions, and received the thanks of both Houses. The changes in the army, and the disbanding of the supernumerary officers, were effected with the greatest tranquillity, and the Parliamentary orders were every where implicitly obeyed. The battle of Naseby ensued, and the series of successes by which it was followed up, amply justified the choice of the new general, Sir Thomas Fairfax, and of the previous measures which gave him the undivided command. Whitelock says, that 'the King's party looked upon the new army and new officers with much contempt,' and that the new model was by them in scorn called 'the *new Noddle*.' It was not, however, 'a new army:' their scorn must have been excited by the mere circumstance of its not having peers for generals; but they were doomed very soon to have their scorn turned into dismay.

Rapin, or rather Whitelock, whom in this instance he follows, represents the appointment of Fairfax to the generalship, as part of the scheme of the Independents against the Presbyterians; and Cromwell's subsequent exemption from the Ordinance, at the application of Fairfax to the House of Commons, is held as proof sufficient of collusion. Cromwell is said to have had such an influence over the General, although the latter was a zealous Presbyterian, that he could make him do whatever he pleased; and all the obnoxious acts of Fairfax are imputed to this influence. The Compiler of these Memoirs shews satisfactorily, that these representations have not the shadow of a foundation. The Presbyterian party in the House, Rapin admits, ever preserved their superiority over the Independents; and the ordinance which deprived many of them of their commissions in the army, strengthened their party in the Parliament. This very circumstance had an important influence on the future pro-

ceedings of the House. It cannot be supposed that they would be perfectly pleased with their exclusion from the army; and it was not unlikely that they would cherish a vindictive feeling towards the supposed authors of the measure. Cromwell's being afterwards so honourably excepted at the application of the new General, though it obtained the assent of both Houses, would not fail to designate him to their envy and suspicion; and to his intrigues would readily be imputed the whole plot. The choice of Fairfax appears, however, to have given universal satisfaction.

Upon no point has there been expended more vague and loose assertion, than upon that of the supposed schism between the Presbyterian and Independent parties. It is quite amusing to perceive how Rapin is driven to put forth his utmost sagacity in order to detect the incipient intrigues of that formidable handful of conspirators yclept Independents; how hard he labours to make his reader bear in mind the distinction, that was so long an invisible one, between them and the Presbyterians, telling him over and over again, that they lay concealed, that they did not for a long while avow their sentiments; that they did not, so late as the year 1645, when the Ordinance was passed, 'pretend to form a separate party from the Presbyterians;' and finally, that Cromwell *especially*, more than any other of this party, put on the appearance of a rigid Presbyterian. In Rapin, whose impartiality is unimpeachable, this evident perplexity in establishing the early existence and portentous influence of this nondescript and undefinable party, is easily to be accounted for. To a Presbyterian, their very name must have sounded like an indictment; and a foreigner could scarcely fail to be misled by its equivocal import. Hume, with no better knowledge, but far more violent prejudices, affects on this subject a philosophical discrimination. He tells us, that the Independents went 'a note higher' in fanaticism than the Presbyterians, and therefore 'could less be restrained within any bounds of temper and moderation.' 'From this distinction,' he adds, 'as from a first principle, were derived, by a necessary consequence, all the other differences of these two sects.' Which is as much as to say, there was a distinction without a difference, except in degree; or, in other words, Independency was only Presbyterianism *run mad*. He admits, however, that this sublimation of fanaticism was attended by one most singular and unaccountable symptom. 'Of all Christian sects, this was the first which, during its prosperity as well as its adversity, always adopted the principle of toleration.' This trifling point of difference, thus incidentally referred to, might have suggested to the historian a better explanation than any he has given, of their being so obnoxious to the Presbyterians.

The truth is, that Hume's attempt at characterizing the two classes or factions, is altogether erroneous. He would have us believe, that the Independents and the Republicans were the same party; that those who maintained the irrational notion, that every Christian congregation is 'a separate church, exercising a jurisdiction, but one destitute of temporal sanctions, over its own pastor and its own members,'—were led, by a parity of reasoning, to project 'an entire equality of rank and order in a republic quite free and independent.' Thus, he says, 'their political system kept pace with their religious.' That many of the Independents were also Republicans, is readily admitted: that they were Republicans *because* they held the sentiment above referred to on the subject of ecclesiastical government, is as absurdly untrue as that their republicanism led to the adoption of that sentiment. Milton is a case in point: he was at once an Independent and a Republican. No one acquainted with his writings can doubt, that he caught his enthusiasm for a republican government from the ancient classics; but he could not acquire his ecclesiastical notions from the study of Greek, unless it was the Greek of the New Testament. Republicanism has no peculiar affinity to any religious system. The republicans of Holland were Presbyterians; the republicans of Switzerland, Lutherans; the republicans of Italy, Roman Catholics. What then, but to point a calumny, could Hume design, when he represented Republicanism as the natural consequence, or necessary concomitant, of the religious notion in question, both having their common origin in fanaticism? Did he mean to intimate that all republicans are fanatics? If not, the republican notions even of fanatics, must have some other origin than fanaticism; and a philosopher like Mr. Hume should have been ashamed to assign a mere coincidence as a cause. But had he understood the religious opinions he pretends to describe, he would have known, that a republic corresponds much more nearly to the Presbyterian, than the Congregational model. Many of the Presbyterian members inclined to Republicanism, and the staunch Republicans were among Cromwell's most determined foes, while the Independents, with whom they are confounded, are supposed to have had him for their leader. The truth is, the latter never identified themselves with any political party. Their connexion with Cromwell amounted to this; that he respected their tolerant principles, and protected them when, in the eyes of the Presbyterians, Toleration was a deadly sin, and Independency a pestilent heresy. The real Independents asked only for protection, whether from a republic, a protectorate, or a monarchy. The Presbyterians contended for power, and they hazarded a Restoration to obtain it. The Independents had almost as much to fear from the intolerance of a Pres-

byterian Parliament as from the Bishops and the King, but they were no enemies to a monarchy. The army, by keeping the Parliament in check, was their best friend ; but it is not true that they governed the army. As for Cromwell himself, if he was, as is pretended, an Independent, he certainly was no republican. But we have the authority of Bishop Burnet for his being inclined to a moderate episcopacy, probably in conformity to Archbishop Usher's scheme, a prelate whom he highly honoured. He was an Independent so far as respected the principle of universal toleration ; but his domestic chaplains to the last were chiefly Presbyterians, and Presbyterians held the chief posts of honour and emolument under the Protectorate.

Mr. Hume's idea of a secret distinction having long prevailed in the House of Commons between the Presbyterian and Independent parties, must, Mr. Cromwell justly remarks, be ' the work of his own imagination.' The existence of such a distinction on the point of Church government was well known.

' Nor had the Independents, probably, ever been confounded with the Presbyterian party, but must, from their respective commencements, have been separate and distinct. The Presbyterians must have been the prevalent party at the time of their procuring the establishment of the Directory, which was, even according to Mr. Hume, directly opposite to the liberal sentiments of the Independents. Mr. Hume becomes perfectly unintelligible in his endeavour to explain the genius of the Independents. After all the heavy charges he brings against them, he tells us, that they were the first of the Christian sects which, during its prosperity, always adopted the principle of toleration ; and that it was remarkable so reasonable a doctrine owed its origin, not to reasoning, but to the height of extravagance and fanaticism. Were it true, it would indeed be extraordinary ; but this doctrine could only originate in large and liberal minds, and could not have been the production of fanaticism and enthusiasm. He makes this most extraordinary observation,—that the variations in which an enthusiast indulged himself, he was apt, by a natural train of thinking, to permit in others. The contrary of this proposition seems to be true,—that an enthusiast must be so assured of his own infallibility, that he must conclude all others to be in error and not to be indulged, and therefore must surely be likely to be intolerant.'

Neal states, that ' the *real* Presbyterians, who were for an ' entire change in the hierarchy' on the ground of Divine right, were, so late as 1642, but few in the House, and could carry no measure by their own strength ; but that, in 1644, the state of things was very different. ' *For the sake of the Scots' alliance,*' the majority were prevailed upon to lay aside the name and function of bishops, in order to establish a presbyterial form on the ruins of all others. In such a design the Independents could not concur : they opposed it in the Assembly of Divines ; and, if they had any partisans in the House of Commons, they

must have opposed it there. It is certain, that Cromwell was always hostile to the ecclesiastical schemes of the Presbyterians, and that this early drew down upon him the suspicion and hatred of the Scotch. Towards the end of 1644, the Scotch Commissioners held a conference with the Earl of Essex, the object of which was to determine, whether Cromwell might not be proceeded against as 'an incendiary between the tway nations,' on account of his being 'an obstacle or remora' to the union, by solemn league and covenant, of the churches of the two kingdoms, and to 'the gude design' of setting up Presbytery by right Divine. This debate, Whitelock, who was present, believes to have been reported to Cromwell, and to have put him upon carrying on more actively his design of making way for his own advancement. It certainly justified his suspicion of the intrigues of the Scotch, and taught him what he had to expect from a Presbyterian Parliamentary oligarchy.

Not only the views of Parliament, but the relative strength of parties, must have undergone an important alteration subsequently to the period at which the Self-Denying Ordinance was passed. The accession of those Parliament men who resigned on that occasion their commissions, must materially have contributed to such a change. Most of them were, it is probable, staunch league and covenant men, and not very well disposed to Cromwell. The deaths of Hampden and Pym, together with the secession of Lords Digby, Capel, and Falkland, and others of consideration from the Parliamentary cause, would have thrown the chief management of matters in the House of Commons into new and very different hands. The more moderate, that is, the prudent and the timid, gradually retired from the front of the contest. The men who remained to conduct the affairs of the nation, burthened with the double responsibility of the legislative and executive functions, soon shewed themselves to be quite incompetent to the discharge of so complicated and untried a task. They discovered neither the wisdom of statesmen, the magnanimity of rulers, nor the honesty of patriots. Their first step was to embroil themselves with the army, to which they were wholly indebted for their personal safety and their power, by proceeding to disband it, under the pretence that, the war being ended, it was no longer necessary; but really out of pique, and from an eagerness to get absolute power into their own hands. And when the soldiers were so unreasonable as to petition, that their arrears should first be paid up, that an Act of Indemnity should be passed for all actions committed by them, and that a legislative provision should be made for the widows of such as had fallen and for maimed soldiers, the Commons endeavoured to quash their petition by a declaration purporting that it tended to mutiny. A very temperate answer to this de-

claration was returned, and presented to both Houses April 27, 1647, in which the army claimed the liberty of petitioning in common with the rest of their fellow subjects, disclaimed all seditious intention, pleaded their liability to indictment unless protected by an Act of Indemnity, and humbly represented, that, 'as to the desire of their arrears, necessity enforced them thereto; that their wages had been hardly earned, and the desire of them could not argue them guilty of the least discontent or intention of mutiny; and that, for what concerned the relief of Ireland, they thought it hard that those who had voluntarily served in the wars, and left their parents, trades, and livelihoods, should, after all their free and unwearied labours, be forced and compelled to go out of the kingdom.' Rapin makes a very silly remark upon this declaration: it was in itself, he says, 'very reasonable;' but it '*looked like* an insolent accusation against the Parliament, rather than an humble apology.' What right the Parliament had to claim an humble apology from men whom they were attempting to defraud by the most tyrannical injustice, he does not tell us; nor how what was so very reasonable could look like insolence. Cromwell, as he must needs be the author of all evil, has the credit of having instigated the soldiers to petition. It was surely very unnecessary that he should take this trouble. The facts being indisputable, it should seem that the army could hardly have done less than petition, if such a person as Oliver Cromwell had never existed. If he did take the part of the soldiers, as doubtless he did, in the House of Commons, it was very much to his honour. The Parliament appear to have acted with equal rashness and intemperance: they persisted in their resolution to disband the army, excepting those who would engage to serve in Ireland, without complying with their petition, or paying them more than two month's arrears, when no less than fifty six weeks were due; they accused them of mutiny and sedition; and 'some moved,' says Ludlow, 'that the petitioning soldiers might be declared traitors, while others resolved to secure Cromwell, but he being advertised of it, went to the army.' All this was surely very weak and despicable conduct; and to talk of this discord being fomented by the Independents, is ridiculous trifling. Rapin is too fond of detecting a hidden reason for things that carry with them their own explanation. He says, the Independents 'sought the destruction of the Parliament, for fear the Parliament should destroy them, as, indeed, both Houses intended.' The discontent of the army is very sufficiently accounted for without any such interference: they demanded no more than their right, and they resolved not to throw away the only security they had for obtaining a redress of their grievances, by disbanding before their demands

were complied with. This was the origin of the council of adjutators, a party of whom, under Cornet Joyce, executed the bold and politic manœuvre of securing the possession of the King's person, in order to prevent the Parliament from concluding a treaty of peace which should exclude the army from its provisions. It was not without reason that the apprehension was entertained, that the Presbyterians, backed by the Scotch and the City, would readily have sacrificed the army, and restored the King, if he would but have consented to the exclusive establishment of Presbytery. The subsequent conduct of the Parliament shewed that it was absolutely governed by this despicable faction: * it was marked by vacillation, meanness, and utter faithlessness. Every concession to the army, was tardily and ungraciously made; terms agreed upon at the dictation of fear, were violated the moment the troops were withdrawn from the capital; and the sovereignty of the kingdoms for some time vibrated between the army and the City, just as Fairfax approached or receded from the capital.

It was while things were in this posture, that Cromwell and Ireton on the part of the army, opened a negotiation with the King, which presented the most favourable opportunity that had ever occurred, for re-establishing the monarchy on a constitutional basis. The army was at that time in excellent temper, and the terms offered by Cromwell in their name, were far more conciliatory and favourable than those which were insisted upon by the Parliament and the Scotch Commissioners, as they included no alteration in the ecclesiastical government, but stipulated merely for liberty of conscience. Sir John Berkeley states, that Ireton permitted him to alter two of the articles, and that in most material points, and that when he objected to a third, which excluded from pardon seven individuals, Ireton told him that the concession would expose them to the charge of having betrayed their party and sought only their private ends. He gives Cromwell entire credit for sincerity in this negotiation, and there is not the least foundation for a contrary opinion. The army was far from being implicitly devoted to him. In the council of

* The men who 'in a manner governed the House' at this period, were a party of eleven: Holles, a sworn enemy of Cromwell's, and a man of no principle, Stapleton, Glyn, Lewis, Clotworthy, Waller, Maynard, Massey, Long, Harley, and Nichols. Of these, the first three are particularly specified by Whitelock as having driven on the business of disbanding the army out of pique at having been left out by the self-denying ordinance, while Cromwell, Skippon, and others retained their commissions. Waller, Massey, and Brown had also had commands in the army, and are stated by Clarendon to have had declared animosities against the persons of the most active and powerful officers. They especially had great influence in the City.

war, Cromwell, Ireton, and their friends are stated to have had a complete ascendancy; or rather, as Fairfax and Cromwell always acted in accordance, there prevailed a unanimity in this council. But there was another council, called the council of the army, composed of the adjutators, or agitators, in which the General had but a single voice; and this council, so far from being, as has been represented, the creature or instrument of Cromwell, was not by any means subject to his influence. It contained, says Sir John, 'many ill wishers to him,' which the result proved to be the case. The authenticity and veracity of the very important document referred to, have never been questioned, and it clearly proves that the infatuated monarch had to blame only his own perfidy and his evil counsellors for his destruction. Elated with the divisions between the Parliament and the army, he madly attributed the favourable terms now offered him, to a conviction on the part of the army that they could do nothing without him. This delusive notion was daily inculcated on him by Bampfield and Loe, and afterwards by Lauderdale, who had frequent access to him, with the view of preventing a conjunction between the King and the army, that would have been fatal to the Presbyterian cause. Sir John saw through their design, and zealously urged upon his royal master, the necessity of coming to a speedy issue with the army, and, in the meanwhile, of not giving them the least colour for exception to his actions. He represented, that had the army demanded less, he should have suspected their sincerity, for 'that it was not likely that men who had, through so great dangers and difficulties, acquired so great advantages, should ever sit down with less than was contained in the proposals; and, on the other side, never was a crown that had been so near lost, so cheaply recovered as His Majesty's would be, if they agreed on such terms.' But His Majesty was of another advice, replying, that 'they could not subsist without him,' and therefore he 'did not doubt that he should see them very shortly be glad to condescend further.'

What with the encouraging messages which His Majesty had by Lord Lauderdale and others from the Presbyterian party and the City of London, who pretended to despise the army, and to oppose them to death, His Majesty seemed very much erected; insomuch that, when the proposals were solemnly sent to him, and his concurrence most humbly and earnestly desired, His Majesty (not only to the astonishment of Ireton and the rest, but even of him Sir John,) entertained them with very tart and bitter discourses, saying, sometimes, that he would have no man to suffer for his sake, and that he repented of nothing so much as the bill against Lord Strafford, which, though most true, was unpleasant for them to hear; that he would have the church established according to law, by the proposals.

They replied, it was none of their work to do it; that it was enough for them to wave the point, and, they hoped, enough for His Majesty, since he had waved the government itself in Scotland. His Majesty said, that he hoped God had forgiven him that sin, and repeated often, "You cannot be without me, you will fall to ruin if I do not sustain you." Sir John adds, that many of the army who were present, and wished well (at least as they pretended) to the agreement, looked wishfully and with wonder upon him (Sir John) and Mr. Ashburnham; and he (Sir John,) as much as he durst, upon His Majesty, who would take no notice of it, until he (Sir John) was forced to step to him, and whisper in his ear—"Sir, Your Majesty speaks as if you had some secret strength and power that I do not know of; and since Your Majesty hath concealed it from me, I wish you had concealed it from these men too." That his Majesty so onrecollected himself, and began to sweeten his former discourse with great power of language and behaviour; but it was now of the latest; for Colonel Rainsborough (who of all the army seemed the least to wish the accord) in the middle of the conference, stole away, and posted to the army, which he inflamed against the King with all the artificial malice he had.

Soon after this, the army advanced to London; the Parliament and the City submitted to the General, and the King was lodged in Hampton Court. Here the King continued to tamper with Cromwell and Ireton, sending them messages continually by Ashburnham, till both the Presbyterians in the House, and the adjutators in the army, began to murmur that they were making a private bargain with the King. Cromwell was obliged at last to tell Ashburnham and Sir John, that 'if he were an honest man, he had said enough of the sincerity of his intentions; if he were not, nothing was enough.' He therefore conjured them, as they tendered His Majesty's service, not to come so frequently to his quarters, but to send privately to him. The jealousy entertained against Cromwell from his protracted negotiation with the King, arose, however, to such a height, being industriously fomented by the levellers and the Presbyterians, to suit their several ends, that his friends in the House of Commons began to desert him, and the army at length formed the resolution to seize the King's person, which was frustrated only by the King's escape. Sir John states, that Cromwell and his friends were alarmed at the proceedings of the army; and they certainly connived at the flight of the King, if it was not altogether owing to the timely information they conveyed to him. His throwing himself into the Isle of Wight, was indisputably his own voluntary determination. The King could not bring himself to leave the kingdom, fondly imagining that either the army or the Scots would, out of opposition to each other, lower their terms, or raise their biddings, so that he should get back his kingdom, by means of their competition, at

a better bargain. Thus did this weak and deluded prince continue to carry on his perilous double-dealing, till the English Commissioners found that he was only dissembling with them, in order to extort concessions from the Scotch, and the Scotch had no longer any terms to offer. In the mean time, the invasion of England by the Scotch, furnished other employment to Cromwell than the pastime of a negotiation. The defeat of Duke Hamilton and the siege of Colchester, once more made the army the sole arbiters of the monarch's fate; and that fate was already determined upon by the army before Cromwell's return from the North. The renewal of the war had afresh inflamed the nation against the King as the occasion of all the bloodshed; petitions from all quarters, calling for justice upon him, were poured in upon the Parliament and the General; and, among others, a petition, or rather a remonstrance, from the council of the army, was presented to the Commons by Colonel Ewers, attended by several officers. Ten days after this, the King was removed, by order of General Fairfax, from the Isle of Wight to Hurst Castle, where this same Colonel Ewers was his gaoler.

The removal of the King was the death-blow to the hopes of the Royalists and the intrigues of the Presbyterians. On the 4th of December, the Commons passed a resolution declaratory of its having been done without the advice and consent of the House; and a subsequent resolution, 'that his Majesty's concessions to the proposals of Parliament were sufficient grounds for settling the peace of the kingdom,' was carried by a hundred and forty against a hundred and four. This was evidently a last desperate effort of the Presbyterian faction to assert their brief authority, perhaps with a view to clear themselves from participation in the measures which they must now have foreseen to be inevitable. Whatever was its object, it came too late to vindicate the sincerity of their repentance. To the King, the concession was a cruel mockery; for it was withheld till it could answer no purpose but that of irritating his enemies. To the nation at large it was an insult; for it was a formal retraction of that demand which had all along constituted with the Presbyterians, the pretence for continuing the war; namely, the abolition of Episcopacy; 'a point from which,' says Rapin, 'they could not depart without losing the fruit of all their labours and successes against the King.' To the army, it was an impotent defiance, and it led, accordingly, to the arrest of the forty-one members by Colonel Pride, and to the complete subjugation of the City faction. This exclusion of the obnoxious members took place on the 6th of December. According to Ludlow, it was determined upon by three members of the House and three officers of the army; of which Ludlow was one, and Ireton probably another, since he was commissioned to

secure the concurrence of the General. Cromwell, Ludlow affirms, did not arrive in town till the night after; which is confirmed by the date of the transaction as given by Rushworth. He had been absent ever since May; and no ground whatever exists for calling in question his solemn protestation, that he was unacquainted with the design, except those vague and sweeping charges of dissimulation which have been repeated till they have passed for a medium of proof, instead of mere assumptions that require themselves to be substantiated.

Had Cromwell been disposed at this crisis to serve the King, it was no longer in his power. Bishop Burnet says, that Cromwell hesitated respecting the propriety of bringing him to trial, but that Ireton, to whom we may add Harrison and Ludlow, drove it on. Cromwell had for five months laboured to effect a treaty with the King: he did not abandon it till his own influence over the army became endangered, nor till he had had ample proofs of the King's duplicity.* Yet, after this, he had afforded him an opportunity of consulting his personal safety by leaving the kingdom. What finally induced him to concur in the destruction of the King,—whether, as Mr. Cromwell suggests, 'his conviction of the necessity of the measure, aided by, 'perhaps, some degree of personal apprehension from the army,' or whether a persuasion that the last rising of the royalists and the Scots, had been the fruit of a secret understanding with the King, by which he had really fallen under the charge of treason, 'does not appear.' It ought not, however, to be deemed altogether incredible, that the same views of the supposed justice or necessity of the measure, which reconciled it to the mind of the pious, upright, and noble-minded Hutchinson, should have had some influence in overruling the indecision of Oliver Cromwell.

Here we must close our review of the transactions of this memorable period. Cromwell's bloodless usurpation of the supreme power, if it can be called a usurpation, raised as he was already by the resignation of Fairfax, to the head of the army, in which the whole of the executive power virtually resided,—was the only measure that could rescue the exhausted nation from anarchy, or secure it from a fresh invasion. There can be no question, that, if it was expedient that any individual should be invested with the high powers which Cromwell exercised, he was pre-eminently the fittest man on whom they could be devolved; and so, probably, the royalists themselves deemed

* Among these is said to have been an intercepted letter from the King to the Queen, in which he expresses his resolution to break his engagements with the rebels as soon as he should be restored to his authority. This is said to have caused the King's death.

him, next to the legitimate heir to the monarchy. 'His subsequent usurpation,' says Hume, 'was the effect of necessity as well as of ambition.' He alone could have quelled the rival factions of the Parliament and the army, and over-awed the Scotch, upholding by his single strength the whole fabric of the State, and displaying in the possession of absolute power, a moderation and an impartiality which none of the contending parties had hitherto exhibited. The short reign of this 'most blameless of usurpers,' this most patriotic of tyrants, was marked by so much ability and energy, combined, as even Hume allows, with so much regard to justice and humanity,—it rendered England so illustrious and formidable in the eyes of foreign nations, and so secure at home,—that it has extorted unwilling admiration from his enemies and calumniators. He came short of the greatest of English monarchs only in the legitimacy of his title. Had he but lived to realize his supposed design of establishing a mild episcopacy in the Church, and of gradually restoring to the free exercise of their functions the two constituent branches of the Legislature, and could he but have secured an undisputed title to his successor, the crimes, the follies, and the miseries attendant on the succeeding two reigns would have been averted, and the constitutional liberties of England might have been established without another revolution. The clergy, in that event, would have been his panegyrists, and he would have been justly celebrated by all parties as the Protector of his country.

There is a speech of Cromwell's given by Whitelock, which shews how just were the ideas he had formed of a limited constitutional monarchy, and how little he affected to discriminate between the powers of a Protector and a King. When the Republicans in the House of Commons began to agitate the question, whether the government should be in one single person and a parliament,—which was, in fact, whether the new government to which they owed their existence as a parliament, should or should not be suffered to exist,—Cromwell sent for the members to meet him in the painted chamber; he there told them, that in informing them, as he had done at the opening of the session, that they were a free parliament, 'he considered there was a reciprocation:'

'for that the same government that made them a Parliament, made him Protector, and that, as they were entrusted with some things, so was he with other things: that there were some things in the government fundamental, and could not be altered; viz. that the government should be in one person and a parliament; that parliament should not be made perpetual, which would deprive the people of their successive elections; nor that the parliament should be always sitting, that is, as soon as one parliament was up, another should

come and sit in their places the very next day; that this could not be, without subjecting the nation to an arbitrary power in governing, because parliaments, when they sit, are absolute and unlimited: that the militia was not to be entrusted in any one hand or power, but to be so disposed, that, as the Parliament ought to have a check upon the Protector to prevent excesses in him, so, on the other hand, the Protector ought to have a check upon the Parliament in the business of the militia, to prevent excesses in them; because if it were wholly in the Parliament, they might, when they would, perpetuate themselves; but that the militia being disposed of as it was, the one stood as a counterpoise to the other, and rendered the balance of government the more just and even, and the government itself the more firm and stable: a due liberty of conscience in matters of religion, wherein bounds and limits ought to be set, so as to prevent persecution: and that the rest of the things in the government were examinable and alterable, as the occasion and the state of affairs should require: that, as for a negative voice, he claimed it not, save only in the foresaid particulars.' pp. 509, 10.

Under Cromwell's celebrated Instrument of Government, the parliaments were declared triennial, the protectorship was made elective, and the free and unrestricted profession of religion was secured. The parliament which commenced its discussions with calling in question the Protector's title, proceeded, in the same spirit, to withhold a provision for the army, and to betray a disposition to religious intolerance. 'Nothing will satisfy them,' indignantly remarked Cromwell, 'unless they can put their finger upon their brethren's consciences, and pinch them there.' For this, they amply deserved to be dissolved. The restlessness and intolerance of the Presbyterians, probably inclined Cromwell to think that an established episcopacy could alone secure his government against their secret influence. As a state expedient, he seems to have deemed it advisable, not as required by the interests of religion, but by the exigencies of the political condition of the country; in order to create an influence that should in some degree modify or balance the power of the Legislature, by uniting the people with the Crown. He found himself scarcely equal, with all his vast personal resources, to combat an opposition Church, a royalist faction, and a republican Legislature. If to Cromwell's scheme of government be superadded, an hereditary legislature to balance that of the democracy, a moderate extension of the prerogative to soften the collision between the popular interests and those of the State, responsible advisers to protect the King from personal accountability without releasing him from legislative control, and a sufficient security against the infinite evils attendant on a disputed title to the supremacy on the demise of the sovereign, —we shall have as perfect an outline of a constitutional monarchy as can well be imagined. But while, on the one hand,

the history of that period forcibly illustrates the necessity of these provisions, it proves, on the other hand, how perilous is the infatuation which would induce a government arbitrarily to dispose of the property, or to invade the religious rights, of the subject. So strong is the beneficial prejudice in favour of an established government, that the people have never been known to rise against it as a body, till maddened with the one or the other of these two species of oppression. The quarrel once begun, a retreat on either side becomes next to impracticable: the army becomes the arbiter, and the sword drawn against the people, will inevitably revert at last to their hands. Every revolution cannot be expected to be so bloodless as that which seated on the throne our third William; nor has the fearful reign of anarchy been often so fortunately terminated as was that of the civil wars by the gentle and magnanimous despotism of Oliver Cromwell.

Art. II. 1. *Desultory Thoughts in London, Titus and Gisippus*, with other Poems. By Charles Lloyd, Author of *Nugæ Canoræ*. 12mo. pp. 252. Price 7s. 6d. London. 1821.

2. *Nugæ Canoræ*. Poems by Charles Lloyd. Third Edition with Additions. 12mo. pp. 332. London. 1819.

A generation has sprung up since the Author of these volumes first challenged the plaudits of the public. He then appeared as one of a seeming literary pleiades that shone the brighter from consociation, but which have since diverged into widely different orbits. The elliptical course which has been described by Mr. Lloyd, has withdrawn him longer from public observation than his early compeers, so that he may almost say with Young, with a slight variation of the passage,

‘ I’ve been so long remember’d, I’m forgot.—
A new world rises, and new manners reign;
Junior competitors in hosts arise
To push me from the scene, or’—

Not to ‘ hiss him there.’ Of this alternative, Mr. Lloyd has a right to feel himself in no danger. Those of his readers who may the least sympathise with the sentiments and feelings imbodyed in his poems, cannot fail to receive from the perusal an impression of his estimable character, which must entirely preclude any feelings but those of personal respect. We should even think that an interest would be created towards the Author as an individual, much stronger than is often attendant upon the warmer feelings of admiration which are excited by the productions of more splendid genius. That Mr. Lloyd is a man of real genius, will scarcely be questioned. In discussing that point, we seem, indeed, to be almost

trenching on the sphere of a 'retrospective review.' As, however, we occasionally presume to be retrospective reviewers, we shall not consider ourselves as discharged from the necessity of delivering our judgement to that effect. Mr. Lloyd is a man of genius, possessed, moreover, of a richly furnished and highly cultivated mind; a man who has made poetry his study, and has clearer notions of what it ought to be, perhaps, than most of his critics; who has thought deeply, and has felt—too keenly, as it should seem, for his own happiness. This excess (a morbid excess it must be admitted) of sensibility, has not wasted itself on donkeys, and daffodils, and pedlars; nor is it of that kind which retreats from contact with the realities of life. Mr. Lloyd is the poet of sentiment;—a term which has fallen into some disgrace from abuse, but we know not what poetry is worth without sentiment. Sentiment, however, is, in the Author's view, only another name for right feeling; and 'to *feel rightly*,' he affirms to be 'of more importance than to think wisely, since we more often act from impulse than from thought.' With too many persons, poets and no poets, sentiment, which is in other words *thinking about feeling*, is the substitute for feeling itself; and the rough cordiality of an unsentimental shake of the hand, has more of heart in it than is often diffused through a centenary of sonnets. The impression we have received from Mr. Lloyd's poems leads us to believe that it is far otherwise with him; that he really feels till he thinks, as well as, sometimes, thinks till he feels; and that what may appear excessive or remote from ordinary sympathy in his poems, is the result of that peculiarity of temperament which is generally found in connexion with the true poetical character. The very deficiency of art, the occasional want of successful elaboration, that renders the execution of his poems frequently—perhaps we may say generally—inferior to the conception, indicates the intense excitement of feeling under which they have been written. On this account, his poetry will seem the most instinct with genius, will speak the loudest and the sweetest, to men of the same turn of mind and habits as himself, who will be able to catch the full meaning where it is not sufficiently brought out, and to perceive in the rude etching, the marks of design, the glowing and essential thought.

The true pleasure of composition, artists well know, is confined to the first stage of expression—the sketch; and there have been men of real genius who could never summon patience enough, some who had not the requisite skill, to fill up their own design: they have not attained a mastery in the management of colours. Mr. Lloyd is a better draftsman than he is a colourist. In no respect is a writer more liable to be misled by strong feelings, than as to the *effect* of his expressions upon the reader. To his own mind, they represent certain images and certain emotions,

but whether this arises from their being accidentally associated with them, or from their being really the fittest mode of expression, he may sometimes be unable to determine; and in such cases, equitably to discriminate between the reader's dullness and the author's want of skill, becomes a very nice point of critical jurisprudence. To feel strongly, has been assigned to be the true method of speaking eloquently; as carrying with it an inspiration that makes the thoughts instinctively imbody themselves in energetic language. But if this be true as to public speaking, it is far otherwise with regard to poetical composition, which is of a nature too complicated to be the prompt result of impulse; and it is very certain, that between feeling and expressing that feeling, an interval must elapse, which admits of the thoughts missing their way to their appropriate vehicles of expression. That nice operation of the judgement which we call taste, is guided by inexpressible rules and fine calculations, which a state of high excitement does not peculiarly qualify the poet for observing in giving utterance to his feelings. Nay, he may disdain to stoop to the tricks of art, forgetting that it is his business as a poet, not simply to record his own feelings, but to produce feeling in the minds of others; and that neither language nor poetry were given him for the purpose of soliloquy. The school to which Mr. Lloyd was once considered as belonging, has been illustrious for genius, but it has fallen into self destructive heresies on the score of taste.

We hope that such of our readers as are accustomed to pay any deference to our poetical disquisitions, will give us credit for having good reasons in making these general remarks, although we shall decline to justify them by a closer application. With regard to the volumes before us, we should do great injustice to the Author, were we to represent them as marked by the characteristic faults of the *Lake* poets. They are evidently the productions of a man of correct taste, and are perfectly free from the affectation either of simplicity or quaintness, from pedantry, and from conceits. And if Mr. Lloyd cannot enter the lists with his early friends in the higher walks of poetry which they have chosen, his merits are at least equal to his pretensions; and if his success be but equal to his merits, his poetry will not want admirers.

About a third part of the *Nugæ* is selected from a larger collection of the Author's pieces, which reached, many years ago, a second edition, and had been suffered to remain out of print. These pieces, which are distinguished in the Index by an asterisk, bear the dates of 1794 and the following four or five years. That which, we think, the Author would himself prefer, and which of all his poems is the best known, is the Address to the Genius of Shakspeare.

When first thine eyes beheld the light,
 And Nature bursting on thy sight,
 Pour'd on thy beating heart a kindred day;
 Genius, the fire-eyed child of Fame,
 Circled thy brows with mystic flame,
 And warm with hope pronounced this prophet lay.

' Thee, darling Boy! I give to know
 Each viewless source of Joy and Woe;
 In thee my vivid visions shall unfold;
 Each form that freezes sense to stone,
 Each phantom of the world unknown,
 Shall flit before thine eyes, and waken thoughts untold.

' The bent of purpose unavow'd;
 Of Hopes and Fears the wildering crowd;
 The incongruous train of wishes undefin'd;
 Shall all be subjected to thee!
 The excess of bliss and agony
 Shall oft alternate seize thy high attemper'd mind.

' Oft o'er the woody summer vale
 When Evening breathes her balmy gale,
 Oft by the wild brook's margin shalt thou rove;
 When just above the western line
 The clouds with richer radiance shine,
 Yellowing the dark tops of the mountain grove.

' There Love's warm hopes thy breast shall fill,
 For Nature's charms with kindest skill
 Prepare for Love's delicious ecstasy;
 Thy prostrate mind shall sink subdued,
 While in a strange fantastic mood,—
 The wild power fires thy veins and mantles in thine eye!

' For know, where'er my influence dwells,
 Each selfish interest it expels,
 And wakes each latent energy of soul;
 Indifference, of the marble mien,
 Shall ne'er with lazy spells be seen,
 To quench th' immortal wish that aims perfection's goal.

' These shalt thou burst, whate'er it be
 That manacles mortality,
 And range thro' scenes by fleshly feet untrod;
 And Inspiration to thine eye
 Shall bid futurity be nigh,
 And with mysterious power approximate to God.'

This is decidedly superior to any ode of Akenside's; and had it appeared among the works of Collins, few persons would have suspected it to be spurious. It is, unquestionably, a very beautiful, though not a faultless poem. The last three lines are objectionable, whether in point of sentiment or merely of

phraseology, we will not decide. But as a whole, it's merit is sufficient to entitle the Author not to be forgotten.

The following Lines bear the date of 1819, a lapse of twenty-four years from the time at which the above ode was composed. We give them without any comment. If any of our readers can subject them to cold and curious criticism, they are welcome. Not but they will stand the test; but the subject is of a nature too sacred, we should have thought, for the public eye, had not Cowper taught us that a mind of acute and shrinking sensibility can strangely find a solace in laying open to that unseen public the inmost recesses of the heart.

‘ TO MY CHILDREN.

[Written under the influence of great depression of spirits.]

Heu! quam minus est reliquis versari, quam vestrorum meminisse.

- ‘ My babes, no more I'll behold ye,
Little think ye how *he* ye once lov'd,
Your father, who oft did enfold ye,
With all that a parent e'er prov'd;—
- ‘ How with many a pang he is saddened,
How many a tear he has shed
For the eight human blossoms that gladdened
His path, and his table, and bed.
- ‘ None knows what a fond parent smothers,
Save he who a parent has been;
Who once more, in his daughters, their mother's,
In his boys, has his own image seen!
- ‘ And who—can I finish my story?—
Has seen them all shrink from his grasp;
Departed the crown of his glory,
No wife, and no children to clasp!—
- ‘ By all the dear names I have utter'd,
By all the most sacred caresses,
By the frolicsome nothings I've mutter'd
In a mood that sheds tears while it blesses;
- ‘ By the kisses so fond I have given,
By the plump little arm's cleaving twine,
By the bright eye whose language was heaven,
By the rose on the cheek press'd to mine;
- ‘ By it's warmth that seem'd pregnant with spirit;—
By the little feet's fond interlacing,
While others pressed forward to inherit
The place of the one thus embracing;
- ‘ By the breast that with pleasure was troubled,
Since no words were to speak it availing:
Till the bliss of the heart was redoubled
As in smiles on the lips 'twas exhaling;

- By the girl who, to sleep when consigned,
The promised kiss still recollected,
And no sleep on her pillow could find,
If her father's farewell were neglected ;
- Who ask'd me, when infancy's terrors
Assailed her, to sit by her bed ;
And for the past day's little errors
On my cheek tears of penitence shed ;
- By those innocent tears of repentance,
More pure e'en than smiles without sin,
Since they mark with what delicate sentence
Childhood's conscience pronounces within ;—
- By the dear little forms, one by one,
Some in beds closely coupled half-sleeping,
While the cribb'd infant nestled alone—
Whose heads at my coming all peeping,
- Betrayed that the pulse of each heart
Of my feet's stealing fall knew the speech ;
While *all* would not let me depart,
Till the kiss was bestowed upon *each* ;
- By the boy who, when walking and musing
And thinking myself quite alone,
Would follow the path I was choosing,
And thrust his dear hand in my own ;
- Joy more welcome because unexpected ;—
By all this fond store of delights,
(Which, in sullen mood, had I neglected,
Every curse with which Heaven requites,
- Were never sufficient for crushing
A churl so malign and hard-hearted,)
But by the warm tears that are gushing,
As I think of the joys that are parted ;
- Were ye not as the rays that are twinkling
On the waves of some clear haunted stream ?
Were ye not as the stars that are sprinkling
Night's firmament, dark without them ?
- My forebodings then hear ! By each one
Of the dear dreams through which I have travelled,
The cup of enjoyment from none
Can I take, till the spells, one by one,
Which have withered ye all, be unravelled.

To these Lines immediately succeed some stanzas, written about the same period, which betray the same agonizing melancholy. They are exceedingly wild, diffuse, and unequal, like the irregular notes of an Æolian harp, now in soft accordance, and then bursting into powerful harmony filled up with discords. The rudeness and obscurity of some passages might have been

easily removed, could the Author have submitted to the irksome labour of correction; and, as a poem, the stanzas would, unquestionably, have gained considerable improvement from their being more highly polished, and more compressed; but then they would not have been what they now are,—the warm transcript of over-powering feelings. There are few individuals of keen sensibility and melancholic temperament, who have not, at some period in their lives, been visited with that moody shrinking from all human society, which is here exhibited in its excess. Campbell's exquisite ode 'on leaving a scene in Bavaria,' was written under the inspiration of this morbid enthusiasm, the disease of refined and elevated minds; and it is characterized by a calm and majestic beauty which seems the very reflection of the scenery amid which it was written; but it is more full of sentiment than of feeling: it inspires admiration, but calls for no pity. The melancholy which these stanzas breathe, is of a deeper hue; and we know no poet who has more skilfully analysed and described the state of mind under which they seem to have been written, than the anonymous author of "The Comforter."* They open with a reference to those poetical superstitions, to which it is so natural to recur in the deep entrancement of solitude.

' Oh, that a being in this latter time
Lived, such as poets in their witching lays,
Feigned were their demi-gods in nature's prime!
The Dryad sheltered from noon's scorching rays
By leafy canopy;—the Naiad's days
Stealing by, gently wedded to some spring
In pure connatural essence;—while the haze
Of twilight in the vale is lingering,
The Oread from mountain top the sun-rise welcoming.

' Oh, that a man might hope to pass his life
Where through lime, beech, and alder, the proud sun
His leafy grot scarce visited;—where strife
Is known not;—to absolve, to impeach him none;—
His moral life, and that of nature, one:—
Where fragrant thyme and crisped heath-bells prank
The ground, all memory of the world to shun,
And piercing, while his ears heaven's music drank,
Nature's profoundest depths, the God of Nature thank.'

We transcribe but one other stanza.

' Oh! thou First Cause, thou giver of each blessing,
E'en were I cursed, so vain a thing I'm not,
As to suppose *nothing* is worth possessing;—
That misery's the universal lot.

* See Eclectic Review. N. S. Vol. XIII. p. 570. [June 1820.]

‘ A cold hand lies on me ;—a weight ;—from what,
 Whence, where, or how,—boots it not here to tell :
 I only wish that I could be forgot,
 And that I might inherit some small cell,
 With blessings short of heaven, and curses short of hell.’

To thirst for fame, yet wish to be forgotten,—to be alike keenly susceptible of neglect and impatient of observation,—is but one of those moral paradoxes which enter into the composition of certain morbid varieties of character. The mind represents to itself as the object of its vague desires, an imaginary mode of existence, such as we assign to the elements of nature, but with the superaddition of consciousness ; in which it might exert a perpetual activity without suffering from its reaction ; possessed of power without feeling. This is a strange delusion ; but what less than a delusion is the love of fame itself,—the desire of a nominal existence from which even consciousness is excluded ? Such fancies, when they are connected with affectation, may fairly be derided, not as extravagance, but as pretence. Illusions as they are, however, they may very possibly be the result and the expression of real and permanent feelings, which those only will ridicule, who cannot understand how much suffering may have no other source than the imagination.

Our business is with Mr. Lloyd only as a poet ; but, in pursuing this article, we feel almost irresistibly impelled to deviate into physiological speculations, by the very singular and interesting trains of thought which he is continually throwing out, and the glimpses they afford of his intellectual history. The frankness with which he discloses the secret workings of his mind under the pressure of severe distress, might, indeed, seem to justify our attempting to supply that commentary on the contents of the volumes before us, which should introduce them with the more advantage to the perusal of our readers. A person on casually opening them, would not readily appreciate the genius, the sensibility, and the intelligence which are so abundantly indicated to be prominent qualities in the Author's mind. The interest which his poetry is adapted to inspire, is of no ordinary kind ; but to those who do not possess the key to it, it will not wear that superficial attractiveness which shall at once fix their attention and awake their interest. What Wordsworth says, in his “ Poet's Epitaph,” that

‘ —you must love him, ere to you
 He will seem worthy of your love,’—

applies with peculiar force to the Author of the present volume. The “ Desultory Thoughts” are more particularly open to the objection of requiring a closer attention and a more acquiescent surrender of the feelings, than most readers will consent to give.

They are, in parts, highly metaphysical; and to be metaphysical is much the same as to be to the generality obscure. Lord Byron is almost the only living poet who has been able to impart a powerful interest to didactic poetry, by the magic of his numbers, and the energy of expression with which he embodies common-place sentiments. Mr. Lloyd's are not common-place sentiments, and so much the worse for their effect in poetry. His verse, too, is frequently rough with thought, and prosaic, we suspect, upon system. In fact, it is for the sake of the sentiment, rather than of the expression, that some of the pieces are valuable. In his phraseology, he appears to have taken Cowper for his model, rejecting no forms of expression that are recommended by their force, how much soever at variance with euphony. And he would probably plead the same great example as an apology for the extreme desultoriness of his poetry, which only a close inspection will sometimes distinguish from incoherence. But even Cowper's poetry did not immediately please; and it succeeds in pleasing, in spite of those qualities which it may seem to sanction. Every reader of Cowper feels towards him as a friend, exemplifying the truth of his own remark, that

‘ The poet's lyre, to fix his fame,
Should be the poet's heart.’

And a similar exercise of sympathy will be requisite to give Mr. Lloyd's poetry its full power to please; for it is throughout a tale of the heart, and such a tale as is fit only for the ear of sympathy.

In the volume containing the “Desultory Thoughts,” there is a poem entitled, in allusion to the Lines we have given from the *Nugæ Canoræ*, “The Spell unravelled.” It is dated May 6, 1820, and accounts for the very perceptible difference of tone and character which attests the more recent publication to be the production of a happier era. Though inferior as a composition, it could not have been with propriety withheld; but the Author seems well aware, from the intimation conveyed by the last stanza, that the change which has unravelled the spell, and awaked in his mind new sensations of happiness, will appear to many persons more strange, more delusive and ideal, and even more pitiable, than the mild *Λαμνοιοληψία* which preceded it. Nor will it be anything new, if *that* is charged with having raised the storm, which now appears to gild the calm. The stanzas which immediately precede the poem we have referred to, are descriptive of an intermediate state of mind, in which the spirit had not yet regained its tone, but was beginning to have the discord of its feelings assuaged; in which the ‘soul and pestilential congregation of vapours’ that had obscured

' this goodly frame; the earth,' ' this most excellent canopy, the
' air, with this brave o'erhanging, this majestical roof, fretted
' with golden fires,' the firmament,—though not quite dispersed,
was beginning to let in gleams of beauty and cheerfulness. They
are extremely touching, and vividly depict the workings of the
Author's mind at a crisis of feeling peculiarly interesting. The
entire poem is too long for insertion, and is in parts too un-
finished for the fastidious eye of taste; but the following extracts
will sufficiently answer our purpose.

Stanzas, written Nov. 10—12, 1819.

' My God ! I once was young, and once was blest
With all the hopes that soaring youth attend :
I had romantic visions which possess'd
My spirit, and to all I seem'd a friend ;
And in all did a friend expect : now send,
Thou roamer, through the earth thy locks forlorn ;
Say, from what quarter dost thou apprehend
Thou could'st claim hopes, such as in life's blest morn,
If offer'd to thy choice, thou wouldst reject with scorn.

' No ! like a spirit with the universe
At war, a jarring spirit I appear ;
Of man rejected ; and of God—still worse—
Doom'd to perpetual sway of tyrant fear.
I ask but for a little refuge, where
I on the present, future, and the past,
May ruminate. With many a wistful tear,
I ask a place, where my poor heart, at last,
As miser o'er his hoard, my sum of woes may cast !'

The Author then adverts to his children as a source of past
transport ; and this introduces some stanzas which romantically
dilate on the beauty of the age of childhood.

' In a child's voice, is there not melody ?
In a child's eye, is there not rapture seen ?
And rapture not of passion's revelry ;
Calm, though impassioned ; durable, though keen !
It is all fresh, like the young spring's first green !
Children seem spirits from above descended,
To whom still cleave Heaven's atmosphere serene ;
Their very wildnesses with truth are blended ;
Fresh from their skiey mould, they cannot be amended.

' Warm and uncalculating, they're more wise,—
More sense that ecstasy of theirs denotes,—
More of the stuff have they of Paradise,
And more the music of the warbling throats
Of choirs whose anthem round th' Eternal floats,
Than all that bards e'er feigned ; or tuneful skill
Has e'er struck forth from artificial notes :
Their's is that language, ignorant of ill,
Born from a perfect harmony of power and will.'

From this topic an abrupt transition is made to the Poet's sufferings: he complains of being neglected—forsaken, of having his extreme ardour for human sympathy chilled and repelled; and he adopts an expression of Rousseau's, which indicates that, in this feverish and unnatural craving of the affections for ideal excitement, his case has borne a physical resemblance, though in a moral respect essentially dissimilar, to the state of that spoiled child of Fancy. The following stanzas, Rousseau would not have written.

' Yes! I am a mystery to myself; to all;—
Save to my God; thence is it that I feel
Such a propensity on heaven to call;
Since he who comprehends alone can heal.
Oh! Saviour of the world! Do not thou steel
Thyself against my pleading. Call to mind
When e'en *thy will* with agony did reel;
And, though by hope supported, and resigned
From thought that on thyself the destinies of mankind

' Hung,—Thou criedst, "Father, let it pass away,
This cup from me!" Yet on thy bidding waited
Legions of angels; and eternal sway,
And endless triumphs, and delights unsated,
Claim'd thy acceptance when the pang abated.
Oh, think on me! I am friendless! I am poor!
I with importunate distress am mated!
Nor have I hope, however I endure,
That any chance awaits my agonies to cure.

' Oh being most compassionate! for such,
Crush me to atoms, I will think thou art!
Do not, I pray thee, let it seem too much
To mitigate the anguish of my heart.

* * * * *

' It is not Freedom, to be what thou willest,
But 'tis to will that which thou ought'st to be;
And that man whose volition is the stillest,
That man whose will moves in accordancy
With his "who dwelleth in eternity,"
He is "the freeman." And well call'd the Bard
All "slaves" but those who bend to this decree;
And with devoutly passionate regard,
Witness this truth sublime to be its own reward.

' Therefore, no puling sentimentalist
Am I: and when I mourn my agonies,
'Tis not for this or that cause I'm distress'd.
In my creed, there is to the man that's wise
But one legitimate source of smiles and sighs;
And that's involv'd in question, on his path
Whether "the Sun of righteousness arise

With healing on his wings"; or whether scath
He feel, or think he feel, of the Everlasting's wrath.

' I have no sickly feeling of the heart;

No mawkish love-tale, vast wrongs to declare;*

No pangs arthritic, spasm, or cancerous smart,

My bodily functions one by one impair.

These—'tis my trust—I could with patience bear:

No loss of wealth; no friend's departed face;

No tricks of fortune, whose romantic air

Might give my well-wov'n tale bewitching grace:

My ills have nought to do with person, time, or place.

' Oh God! so deeply the conviction's wrought

In me, that thou to man art all in all;

And that the forms most exquisitely fraught

With means of joy,—e'en the gay festival;

The choral song; the trophy-blazoned hall;

The dance; the appurtenants of courtesy;

Without the attraction of Thy blessing, pall;

That the mind's state seems every thing to me!

Without a thankful heart, vain were all social glee!

' "There is a pleasure in the pathless woods,"—

But 'tis to him whose moral path is clear:

"There is a rapture in the roaring floods,"—

But 'tis to him who plays with forms of fear.

"There is society where no one's near,"—

But 'tis to him whose dreams ebullient rise:

"There is a transport in the falling tear,"—

But 'tis to him whose ever lifted eyes

Shed sparkling drops which tell their source is in the skies.

' I cannot ever, ever feel again,

That which, oh Nature! I have felt for thee.

'Twas in God's presence ever to remain,

The marvels of thy boundless reign to see.

No pressures then of cold propriety,

Scarce even animal appetites were mine.

Into the breeze transfused, I seemed to flee

Upon its wings, and all my being resign

To influence of eye, ear, touch, and thought divine.

' Thy mountains! They to me were types of power,

Of glory, vastness, and magnificence.

Thy clouds! As on the "wings of winds" did lour

Obscure imaginations, yet intense,

On them; and shapings of creative sense

Rode as in triumph. Thy far-gleaming lakes!

Their shores of faëry masque the residence!

Thy breezes, murmuring through thy sedgy brakes;

It seem'd blest spirits might quit Heav'n's harmony for their sakes!

* We would read: 'Vast wrongs, or mawkish love-tale to declare.'
This very slight change would give an unexceptionable line.

- ' Yes, I remember when the dreariest waste,—
 The heathery moorland with its mossy stones,
 Where, here and there, with gelid dew o'ercast,
 The hart's-tongue, or the flagging grass, atones
 For the wide barrenness; where plaintive moans
 Of chilling breeze perpetually are heard ;—
 Yes, I remember well, (e'en though with groans
 Of wailing sprite that chilling breeze had stirr'd,)
 When I to brightest scenes, such prospect had preferr'd.
- ' I had a store of joy within me then,
 An inexhaustible and salient spring ;
 And e'en whate'er I felt of *bodily* pain,
 Or of that *deeper* which the heart doth wring,
 Seem'd, in profound subserviency, to bring
 New zest to pleasure, pampering its caprice :
 'Twas like a man wilfully shuddering,
 Giving, by warlock tales, to wassail bliss
 And Christmas blithe fire-side, a spectral emphasis.
- ' Yet, is it not, oh God, in part to hold
 With Thee communion, thus thy works to feel ?
 And can those souls be of an earthly mould,
 Thus rapt above mortality, that steal,
 When Thou thy natural wonders dost reveal ?
 Is it not, in novitiate of learning,
 To gain a 'vantage post in Fortune's wheel ?
 Is there not promise in this nature-yearning,
 Which always doth imply from art a scornful turning ?
- ' Then why should I be to all pleasure dead
 To such an inexpressible degree ?
 I ? Though I grant, as wiser men have said,
 That 'tis a world in ruin that we see.
 Why should I, that have felt such ecstasy,
 Be sunken now so low ? Is it t' enforce
 The doctrine, that each project which can be
 Content with aught save wisdom's primal source,
 Is like a pile on sand, which storms will soon disperse ?
- ' So seems it ! What with all my dreams am I ?
 It was on real objects that I gazed ;
 Yet have they ended more in vanity,
 Than the most doting visions of the crazed,
 Or all the structures by fanatics raised.
 Now had I rather mope where Penury
 In rags, filth, smoke, and sickness, is emblaz'd,—
 Screams in the ballad's rude discordancy,
 The howl of curs, coarse oaths, and the scold's ribaldry,—
- ' So that new feelings might at least be mine ;
 Than live in some contemplative recess,
 Where mountains, forests, rocks, lakes, streams, combine
 With human beings, deeply to impress.

Is this, oh God, to shew the nothingness
Of fairest hopes of man?—how soon the stream
Most copious, and most promising to bless,
Exhausted, if from earth alone it teem?
Thus, when I thought to drink, I drank but in a dream.'

Extended as this article is, we must leave our task but half-performed. We have scarcely touched upon the contents of the more recent volume, and can now only briefly advert to them. The "Desultory Thoughts in London" are divided into three books, comprising altogether upwards of four hundred stanzas of the difficult construction borrowed from the Italians, which has of late become so fashionable with our versifiers. Though not unsusceptible of dignity and sweetness, it is best adapted to the humorous, or, at least, the sportive, its distinguishing feature being lightness, while it seems to be considered as admitting of a license bordering on the Hudibrastic. Nothing can be more free, and various, and negligent than Mr. Lloyd's versification: it is sometimes gracefully playful, but sometimes too, its play is scarcely suitable to the solemn or pathetic cast of the sentiment, while at other times it sinks quite below the level of serious poetry. The thoughts are so very 'desultory' that it would be difficult to frame an argument of the poem. The Author has not ventured to expose to view the heterogeneous contents in a bill of fare, aware, perhaps, that common readers would anticipate little gratification from such subjects as the following: A walk in the park; Methodist chapel; a portrait; consecration of Solomon's temple; influence of imagination; unfortunate females; election and reprobation; faith; free-will; the second advent, &c. Such are the running titles of the first sixty pages of the volume; and very injudiciously are they so printed, as they will excite in the minds of nine persons out of ten, only ridiculous ideas, which will prejudice them, unwarrantably, but perhaps effectually, against the volume. The chief fault of the poem is, that it wants relief: the didactic is not, at least in the first two books, sufficiently intermixed with the picturesque. The charm of "The Task" is, that it takes us out in the open air. Cowper is, indeed, the most delightful of field-preachers; and his descriptions always predispose the reader to receive the sentiments which seem to rise out of them. Lord Byron pleases by the same method; but his philosophy is more dramatic, and his very sentiments are picturesque. If Mr. Lloyd had, as he well might have done, thrown into the first part of the poem more of the recollected scenes of his early life, (such as that near the Lake of Winandermere, which he describes in the third book,) he would have rendered it much more attractive. And the motto prefixed to the first book, excites the expectation that he would do so: 'Si je veux peindre le printemps, il faut que je sois en

'hyver ; si je veux decrir un beau paysage, il faut que je sois dans les murs.' On what, therefore, should 'Thoughts in London' so naturally dwell, as on solitude, and nature, and the spring?

One remark more. Mr. Lloyd apologises for having expressed himself unadvisedly on the doctrine of Election and the subject of moral evil: he 'wishes that he had not so expressed himself as he has done in the passage alluded to.' This frank retraction must disarm his critic of all disposition to severity; but we still regret the appearance of the passage, and wish that Mr. L. had kept clear of polemics. On these awful and insufferable topics, feeling is a very unsafe guide, although 'to feel rightly,' is indispensable as a pre-requisite for 'thinking wisely.' The first crude conclusions which even an honest and acute mind may come to in pursuing such investigations, are not fit to be promulgated in poetry. We earnestly recommend that the greater part of pp. 49—62, should be cancelled in a future edition. The following remark does credit to the Author's acuteness, which invariably shines out in his prose.

—'The Author feels that he is wrong. Remorse, as distinct from regret, is a passion inalienable from human nature; and this passion tells us, by its awful voice, that it is for sin that we are tormented; and though the reasoning of necessity may make us anticipate that we never should feel remorse, yet, if we do feel remorse, hypothesis there is contradicted by fact, and the whole falls to the ground.'

p. vii

Titus and Gisippus is a very interesting tale, founded on a hint borrowed from a story in Boccaccio, but original in its details, and enriched with that ample store of metaphysical sentiment in which Mr. Lloyd resembles and rivals our elder poets. This poem would sufficiently attest the undiminished vigour of the Author's faculties. There are detached passages, however, in the Desultory Thoughts, quite equal to any thing in either of the volumes: we may refer, in proof of this assertion, to the conclusion of the first book, and the description of the lake scene, with the pathetic address to his children, which occupies nearly the whole of the third. As we have charged Mr. Lloyd with being deficient as a colourist in language, we must, in justice, lay before our readers a specimen of what he can, when he pleases, achieve as a landscape-painter. Nothing can be more perfectly beautiful than the following romantic description. To a reader of any poetical feeling, it will render all further commendation of the volume superfluous.

'I had a cottage in a Paradise!

'Twere hard to enumerate the charms combin'd
Within the little space, greeting the eyes,
Its unpretending precincts that confin'd.

Onward, in front, a mountain stream did rise
Up, whose long course the fascinated mind
(So apt the scene to awaken wildest themes)
Might localize the most romantic dreams.

' When winter torrents by the rain and snow,
Surlily dashing down the hills, were fed,
Its mighty mass of waters seem'd to flow
With deafening course precipitous : its bed
Rocky, such steep declivities did shew
That towards us with a rapid course it sped,
Broken by frequent falls ; thus did it roam
In whirlpools eddying, and convulsed with foam.

' Flank'd were its banks with perpendicular rocks,
Whose scars enormous, sometimes grey and bare,
And sometimes clad with ash and gnarled oaks,
The birch, the hazel, pine, and holly were.
Their tawny leaves, the sport of winter's shocks,
Oft o'er its channel circled in the air ;
While, on their tops, and midway up them, seen,
Lower'd cone-like firs and yews in gloomiest green.

' So many voices from this river came
In summer, winter, autumn, or the spring ;
So many sounds accordant to each frame
Of nature's aspect, (whether the storm's wing
Brooded on it, or, pantingly and tame,
The low breeze crisp'd its waters,) that, to sing
Half of their tones, impossible ! or tell
The listener's feelings from their viewless spell !

' When fires gleam'd bright, and when the curtain'd room,
Well stocked with books and music's implements,
When children's faces, dress'd in all the bloom
Of innocent enjoyments, deep content's
Deepest delights inspir'd ; when nature's gloom
To the domesticated heart presents
(By consummate tranquillity possessed)
Contrast, that might have stirr'd the dullest breast ;

' Yes, in such hour as that, thy voice I've known,
Oh, hallow'd stream ! fitly so nam'd, since tones
Of deepest melancholy swell'd upon
The breeze that bore it ; fearful as the groans
Of fierce night spirits. Yes, when tapers shone
Athwart the room, when, from their skiey thrones
Of ice-pil'd height abrupt, rush'd rudely forth,
Riding the blast, the tempests of the north,—

' Thy voice I've known to wake a dream of wonder !
For, though 'twas loud, and wild with turbulence,
And absolute as is the deep-voic'd thunder,
Such fine gradations mark'd its difference
Of audibility, one scarce could sunder
Its gradual swellings from the influence

Of harp Eolian, when upon the breeze
Floats in a stream its plaintive harmonies.

‘ One might have thought, that spirits of the air
Warbled amid it in an undersong ;
And oft one might have thought, that shrieks were there
Of spirits, driven for chastisement along
The invisible regions that above earth are.

All species seem’d of intonation, strong
To bind the soul—imagination rouse,
Conjur’d from preternatural prison-house.

‘ But when the heavens are blue, and summer skies
Are pictured in thy wave’s cerulean glances,
Then thy crisp stream its course so gayly plies,
Trips on so merrily in endless dances,
Such low, sweet tone, fit for the tune, does rise
From thy swift eourse, methinks, that it enhances
The hue of flowers which decorate thy banks,
While each one’s freshness seems to pay thee thanks.’

Art. III. ΕΥΡΙΠΙΔΟΥ ‘ΑΙΤΑΝΤΑ. *Euripidis Opera omnia*; ex Editionibus præstantissimis fideliter recusa; Latina Interpretatione, Scholiis antiquis, et eruditorum Observationibus, illustrata; necnon Indicibus omnigenis instructa. 9 Vol. 8vo. 10l. 10s. Lond. [Priestley.] 1821.

THE remains of the Greek theatre present to us the impaired but majestic fragments of one of the noblest structures of human genius. Its primary characters comprehend nearly all that the imagination can conceive of loftiness and power, mingled with a large measure of beauty and pathos. When Æschylus had presented to his audience the tremendous picture of Prometheus chained to the rock by the appalling agency of the symbolic messengers of vindictive Jove, he mitigated its terrors by the lovely forms and ministrant sympathies of the ocean nymphs; and even amid the overwhelming horrors of the Eumenides, the bright vision of Apollo, and the persuasive mediation of Minerva, are introduced with exquisite skill and effect. If the majestic simplicity of Sophocles, less daring in its inventions, and more equal in its range, did not indulge in contrasts so marked and impressive, yet, the power to blend the stern and fearful with the gentle and touching, was the decided prerogative of that illustrious dramatist. The miseries of the blind and fated Œdipus are alleviated by the devoted and self-renouncing tenderness of his daughters; the deep painting of the despair and agony of Ajax dishonoured, is relieved, and yet strengthened, by the affection of his wife, and the innocent helplessness of his child; nor is there one among the productions of this consummate master of his art, in which equally beautiful traits of unforced emotion

and pure nature, might not be pointed out. If we wished to refer to an example of the most finely blended union of taste, feeling, and judgement, Sophocles would afford us the readiest and least questionable instance.

We should find more difficulty in characterizing Euripides. It would be absurd to refuse him, what has been awarded by the voice both of antiquity and of modern times, a name among the most favoured votaries of the tragic muse: and yet, it would be equally venturous to deny, that he frequently degraded his noble art and his brilliant powers, by a recurrence to artifices such as the wild but severe sublimity of *Æschylus* would have spurned, and with which the simple grandeur of Sophocles would have disdained alliance. It was unworthy of the man who could so inimitably vary the expression of conjugal grief in his *Alcestis*, to violate the sanctity of the filial tie and the dignity of the parental character, by the indecent squabble between *Pheres* and his widowed son. It was beneath the genius of Euripides, to sacrifice that deep and natural pathos of which he was the 'mighty master,' to those mean substitutions by which he has so frequently sought to excite emotion. The mysterious silence of *Alcestis* restored from the tomb, was a finely conceived circumstance in that touching and romantic drama; but the vulgar pantomime by which *Orestes* is extricated from his danger, was a miserable descent from that high level. He avails himself of contrast in a manner too palpably artificial. We admit that the juxta-position of the rags of *Electra* and the pomp of *Clytemnestra*, of the tavern jollity of *Hercules*, and the suppressed agony of *Admetus*, are excellently adapted for stage effect; but when we compare it with those examples of a purer taste which Euripides himself has furnished, we cannot help expressing our regret, that he should have sunk so often from a height which he has shewn himself capable of attaining. It is a mortifying circumstance, that, of the productions of the three great masters of Greek tragedy, which time has spared, the greater number should belong to the inferior writer: for a smaller number of the dramas of *Æschylus* and Sophocles, and for a single specimen of *Agathon*, we could well spare half the works of Euripides. On no other terms, however, would we consent to lose them. They are, with all their defects, a noble portion of the rich legacy of 'the olden time;' fraught with transcendent beauties, and sparkling with the fine ore of genius and feeling.

Euripides has been fortunate in his commentators: on the list, we find the justly celebrated names of Brunck, Valckenaer, Markland, Musgrave, Matthiæ, Hermann, Elmsley, and—among them all, *facile princeps*—Porson. When we wander in the labyrinth of annotation, weary and wondering, bewildered by the oppressive and accumulating density of learning, we no sooner

come in contact with the elucidations of Richard Porson, than we seem to enter a land of light: a touch from his 'wizard wand' clears away the haziness that rests upon the 'mighty maze;' and even when his opinions seem to be overborne by authority and argument, we could almost prefer to be in error with him, to being in the right with his opponents.

The present valuable edition has been undertaken with a view to embody the various and scattered criticisms of these distinguished men; and the Editor has entitled himself to the high praise of having executed his task with fidelity and discrimination. The plan and arrangement of the work are unexceptionable. Porson's text is adopted in the four dramas to which his labours were limited; the *Supplices* and the two *Iphigenias* are printed from Markland's corrections; the publication of Monk is taken as the basis of the *Hippolytus* and the *Alcestis*; the *Andromache*, the *Electra*, and the *Danaë* are from Musgrave; *Ion*, *Rhesus*, the *Troades*, *Helena*, and the *Cyclops*, are from the edition of Matthiæ; Brunck has supplied the *Bacchæ*; Elmsley, the *Heraclidæ*; and Hermann, the *Hercules Furens*. To these are subjoined the most accredited Latin translation, the various scholia, and a large and judicious collection of *variorum* notes: some additional scholia to the *Rhesus* and the *Troades*, are here published for the first time. The admirable *Diatribæ* of Valckenæer on the remaining fragments, and on the last works of Euripides, occupies the larger portion of the eighth volume; and the ninth is filled by the rich and valuable *Indices*.

Such are the principal features of a work which will afford high gratification to the scholar by bringing within his easy access the various treasures of Euripidean criticism, and presenting in a concentrated form the substance of many scattered volumes. It is, on the whole, well got up, though we cannot very highly praise the Greek type: it is in appearance the same as that with which the *Homer* (Clarke & Ernesti) was printed at the Glasgow press in 1814. We really think that Messrs. Duncan would do wisely to adopt a newer and more pleasantly legible letter: the scholia, in particular, require a strong and steady eye to read without effort.

We shrink from the arduous task of engaging in a more lengthened and elaborate investigation of the qualities of this work. Fortunately, it is quite unnecessary; the names which we have quoted above, are too well known in the world of letters to require our eulogy, and we feel no inclination whatever to enter on the invidious and doubtful labour of comparative criticism.

Art. IV. *A Dictionary of Chemistry*, on the Basis of Mr. Nicholson's; in which the Principles of the Science are investigated anew, and its Applications to the Phenomena of Nature, Medicine, Mineralogy, Agriculture, and Manufactures, detailed. With an Introductory Dissertation; containing Instructions for converting the Alphabetical Arrangement into a Systematic Order of Study. By Andrew Ure, M.D. Professor of the Andersonian Institution, M.G.S. &c. &c. [12 plates.] London, 1821.

THIS Work was much wanted. The original has been many years out of print, and the progress of chemical discovery has of late been so rapid, that many of Nicholson's articles had already become antiquated and obsolete. To render it, on its republication, worthy of its respected Author, it was requisite not only to have the whole of the old matter revised, that obsolete and refuted theories might be expunged, and more enlarged and accurate views inserted in their room, but to draw up a very great number of articles entirely new, of which the old Dictionary contains not even a hint. The Editor's task was, indeed, scarcely less arduous than that of the original compiler. Let any one cast a glance over the scientific journals and transactions of scientific societies, during the last twelve years, (the period which has elapsed since the Dictionary was first published,) and he will be convinced, that to exhibit within the compass of one moderate volume, a condensed and yet copious collection of all the discoveries which have resulted from an infinite variety of experiment, and of all the facts belonging to modern Chemistry in its various relations to the Arts, demanded no ordinary spirit of research and industry of application.

This laborious task, Dr. Ure has very competently and accurately performed; and in saying this, we express but feebly our sense of the great obligations he has conferred on the student in Chemistry and Mineralogy, as well as on the Manufacturer, and the Agriculturist. He has, in fact, embodied all that is valuable in each of these branches of knowledge, in so clear and comprehensive a manner, that the articles may be perused as pleasantly as if they stood in the pages of an elementary work. His style is at once scientific, expressive, and simple; we need scarcely add, that it is both perspicuous and elegant, which can be said of few of the popular works on Chemistry, with the exception of Murray's System, and the "Conversations on Chemistry" ascribed to Mrs. Marcet.

There is in the present day a disposition, we think, to be too indiscriminately laudatory in reference to scientific works, and their authors. Since the death of Dr. Priestley, the last of the vanquished champions of Phlogiston, who, though ultimately beaten, fought manfully,—there has arisen scarcely any thing in

Chemical science, which merits the name of a controversy. The minor disputes which are continually arising, are so amicably and politely discussed, that they excite no collision between the antagonists. This would be all very well, if it was not accompanied with some abatement of the keen ardour and restless spirit of emulation, which the conflict of contending minds always engenders, and to which truth has been so often indebted for its development. In the present work, however, Dr. Ure has ventured, more than once, to open an attack upon his neighbour and rival, Dr. Thomson. This is the gentleman who, about five years ago, as our readers may recollect, had his authority in matters of mathematical and philosophical science, rather rudely called in question by Dr. Olinthus Gregory.* Dr. Ure now assails Dr. Thomson's infallibility on subjects more immediately within his sphere; and, aware of the sinister motives to which his opposition may be imputed, he thus apologises for the references to the Dr.'s assertions which he has thought it necessary to introduce.

'I am aware that the influence of Dr. Thomson's name and manner, is capable of giving considerable currency to his opinions, however erroneous they may be. His industry deserves the highest praise; and his chemical experience would entitle his decisions to deference, were they less precipitate, and less dogmatical. Many of my embarrassments in compiling the present volume have arisen from his contradictory judgements pronounced in the *Annals of Philosophy*; see ACIDS, PHOSPHORIC, PRUSSIC, &c. If under the influence of the feelings thus excited, a hasty expression has escaped me in the ardour of composition, I hope it will not be imputed to personal animosity. I have always lived on amicable terms with this distinguished chemist, and trust to continue so to do. Perhaps in commenting on his opinions, I may have unconsciously caught the *plain manner* of his criticisms. My sole object, however, was the establishment of truth.' *Introduction*, p. x.

We shall now enable our readers to compare this apology with some of the passages to which, we imagine, it refers.

'ACID (PHOSPHORIC). In the *Annals of Philosophy* for April, 1816, the report of Dr. Thomson's paper, read at the Royal Society, on phosphoric acid and the phosphates, makes the acid equivalent 3.634; in the *Annals* for August 1816, the phosphuretted hydrogen experiments make it 3.5; the history of 1816 improvements, inserted in January 1817, gives us 4.5 as the equivalent, and an explicit renunciation of 3.5; the *System of Chemistry* in October 1817 confirms this number 4.5 by multiplied facts and reasonings; and, finally, after Sir H. Davy's experiments appeared in 1818, which demonstrated 3.500 to be the real number, Dr. Thomson resumes 3.5; and to shew his claim to priority, refers simply to his former paper on phosphu-

* See *Eclectic Review*. N. S. Vol. IV. p. 506.

vetted hydrogen in the Annals for August 1816. From this example, beginners in the study of chemistry will learn the danger of dogmatizing hastily on experimental subjects.'

The next point on which Dr. Ure is at issue with Dr. Thomson, relates to a subject of still greater importance,—the expansibility of liquids compared with their boiling temperatures. Dr. Ure remarks, (Art. CALORIC,) that this subject 'has been theorized upon by Dr. Thomson; and as it is the only example in his writings, in which he has ventured to propound an original philosophical law, it is entitled to examination.' The law as stated by Thomson, is, 'that the higher the temperature necessary to cause a liquid to boil, the smaller the expansion is which is produced by the addition of a degree of heat; or, in other words, *the expansibility of liquids is nearly inversely as their boiling temperatures.*' [Thomson's Chemistry. (5th edition.) Vol. I. p. 67.]

'It is curious,' Dr. Ure remarks, 'that one of the examples which Dr. Thomson adduces to illustrate his pretended rule, which "holds," he says, "at least in all the liquids whose expansion I have hitherto tried," actually breaks it; for alcohol expands fully a half more than ether; and yet, the interval from its boiling point to 32°, is more than double that interval in ether, instead of being greatly less, as his law requires. Since his table' (of which Dr. Ure inserts a copy) 'obviously disqualifies water, alcohol, ether, oils, and acids, from constituting such a series in expansion, as his rule requires, one may naturally ask this celebrated chemist, What are "the liquids whose expansion he has hitherto tried?"—Had Dr. Thomson propounded the very reverse proposition, viz. that the rate of expansion in liquids is higher, the higher their boiling temperatures, he would have encountered fewer contradictory facts, though still enow to explode the generality of the principle. In a philosophical system of chemistry, examples of such false reasoning are injurious to the student, and lower the rank of the science.'

We beg leave to couple this concluding sentence with a remark which Dr. Ure quotes with approbation from Sir H. Davy, namely, that 'the substitution of analogy for fact is the bane of chemical philosophy,'—in order to derive from his own shewing, a test by which we may examine an article that seems to us questionable both in fact and theory; we refer to the article MIASMATA. Dr. Ure seems to have obtained a knowledge of these, much more precise than we had supposed to be in the present state of inquiry possible. It behoved him more especially to avoid the 'precipitancy and dogmatism' which he imputes to Dr. Thomson.

'MIASMATA. Vapours or effluvia, which, by their application to the human system, are capable of exciting various diseases, of which the principal are intermittent, remittent, and yellow fevers, dysentery,

and typhus. That of the last is generated in the human body itself, and is sometimes called the typhoid fomes. The other miasmata are produced from moist vegetable matter in some *unknown state* of decomposition.'—'The chemical nature of all these poisonous effluvia, is little understood. They *undoubtedly* consist, however, of hydrogen, united with sulphur, phosphorus, carbon, and azote, in *unknown proportions*, and *unknown states* of combination.'

There is in all this much gratuitous assertion. The very existence of what our philosophers are pleased to call *miasmata*, as an apology for total ignorance on the subject, rests upon hypothesis. The exploded principle of Phlogiston was at one time held to be an assumption no less plausible; and the existence of miasmata may with almost equal probability be conjectured to be the cause of physical attraction, or the agent by which chemical affinity is regulated, as the source of contagion, since nobody has ever been able to obtain a particle of them, so as to subject them to analysis.

From the very remarkable experiments which Dr. Ure is famed for having performed, by means of Galvanism, on a criminal immediately after execution, we were induced to turn with some interest to his article GALVANISM, as likely to contain the best information on this subject; and we were not disappointed. He has given both his own views and those of his distinguished contemporaries who have investigated Animal Galvanism. It is chiefly as it respects the restoring of suspended animation from drowning, suffocation, &c., that the experiment and the inferences are of moment. Dr. Ure's experiments were made known soon after they were performed, by means of the daily prints, apparently, however, more for the purpose of exciting wonder, than of turning them to advantage. He is of opinion, that the plans of administering this powerful excitant, hitherto pursued in cases of suspended animation, are very defective; that no advantage is likely to be obtained by passing discharges directly through the region of the heart or that of the lungs; and that it would certainly be better to transmit the influence of the battery along the channel of the nerves, (the phrenic nerve, for example,) which would powerfully affect the lungs and diaphragm, without whose action, as Dr. W. Phillip proved by experiment, neither the heart nor the great vessels can be restored to motion.

There are three other circumstances stated by Dr. Ure, in reference to suspended animation, which we think it important to mention. One is, that immersion in cold water, greatly accelerates the extinction of life by abstracting the animal heat; and that, consequently, less hope can be entertained of recovering drowned persons after a considerable interval has elapsed. Another is, that the positive wire, or that from the zinc plates, ought to be applied to the nerve, while the negative wire, or

that from the copper end, should be applied to the muscle to which the nerve leads. Dr. Ure ascertained this by experiments upon frogs, brought into a similar state of sensibility with warm-blooded animals, by keeping them for a little while apparently dead. The third is, that, for restoring animal heat, it would be very desirable to have a large cradle, containing saw-dust heated with steam, kept in readiness at the houses erected by the Humane Society for the recovery of drowned persons.

Under the article SUGAR, a curious account is given of the discovery lately made by a Russian chemist, that starch is convertible into sugar. It appears, that both starch and sugar are composed of carbon and water, or its constituents, but in different proportions; there being more oxygen in the sugar, and more carbon and hydrogen in the starch. The abstraction, therefore, of a small proportion of carbon and hydrogen from starch, will convert it into sugar.

'I find,' says Dr. Ure, 'that potatoes digested with the dilute sulphuric acid for a day or two, at the temperature of 212° , yield sugar cheaply and abundantly. The acid is afterwards removed by chalk; and the strained liquor left to repose, after due evaporation, affords crystals of sugar, from which good beer may be made.'

'M. Braconnot has recently extended our views concerning the artificial production of sugar and gum. Sulphuric acid (sp. gr. 1.827) mixed with well dried elm dust, became very hot, and on being diluted with water, and neutralized with chalk, afforded a liquor, which became gummy on evaporation. Shreds of linen triturated in a glass mortar, with sulphuric acid, yield a similar gum. If the gummy matter from linen be boiled for some time with dilute sulphuric acid, we obtain a crystallizable sugar, and an acid, which M. Braconnot calls the vegeto-sulphuric acid. The conversion of wood also into sugar, will no doubt appear remarkable; and when persons not familiarized with chemical speculations are told, that a pound weight of rags can be converted into more than a pound weight of sugar, they may regard the statement as a piece of pleasantry, though nothing, says M. Braconnot, can be more real.'

Having heard a great deal, a few years ago, of an Alkalimeter invented by Dr. Ure for ascertaining the quantity of real alkali in the kelp and barilla of commerce, we turned to the article, expecting to meet with a description of it, but were disappointed, the article containing only a *promise* that he will soon publish a description of it. He charges Dr. Henry of Manchester, to whom he submitted it, with inserting in his *Elements*, a description, not exactly of Dr. Ure's instrument, but of one on the same principle. Dr. Ure says, that he offered to communicate an abridged statement of his invention for the *Elements*, but that, without consulting him, Dr. Henry published the essence of the improvement. We think Dr. Ure has himself somewhat to blame for not having either taken out a patent

for his Alkalimeter, or, at least, published it, so as to establish his claim to the honour of the invention. He has been withheld, he says, by a desire to render the instrument still more complete, and by the expectation that the Linen Board of Dublin might wish it to appear under their auspices; an expectation which we think not very likely to be fulfilled, after their having allowed the instrument and its inventor to be neglected for nearly five years.

This is not the only disappointment which we have experienced in consulting this valuable dictionary. Several articles are omitted altogether, which, no doubt, appeared of minor importance to Dr. Ure; but, in a book of reference like his, we expect to find every thing belonging to the science at least noticed, however briefly. Phlogiston is one of the articles which we find wanting. It does not, we admit, form a part of the present nomenclature, but the theory which recognised Phlogiston as a principle, was so distinguished at no very remote date, that it would not have been superfluous to inform the student, who may sometimes meet with the term in his reading, that it was almost synonymous with the element of fire of the Ancients, or perhaps with the hydrogen of the Moderns.

Another of the articles which we have been disappointed of finding, is, Colouring Matter of Vegetables. Now, though this is, confessedly, a hypothetical substance, some account of it occurs in almost every systematic work on Chemistry; and, if Dr. Ure disbelieved in its existence, the notion ought to have been honoured at least with a refutation. The evidence which is adduced in proof of the existence of such a principle, seems to us, indeed, extremely vague and doubtful; and there are facts which appear nearly conclusive against its existence. For, if there be such a principle, it ought, according to the analogy of similar principles, to possess some invariable characteristics by which it might be always recognised. Nothing of this kind, however, has yet been discovered. We are told in Murray's System, that many vegetable products, possessed of deep or of vivid colours, agree in certain chemical relations: the colouring matter can be abstracted from them by the application of certain solvents; can be still further transferred from these solvents to other substances exerting affinities towards it; and this, without its being possible to refer the phenomena to actions exerted by any known proximate principle. But surely, this circumstance can never be admitted as proof of the existence of a separate principle. If the phenomena cannot be referred to the action of any *known* proximate principle, it may reasonably lead us to conjecture the existence of some such principle. But does it necessarily follow, that this must be *colouring matter*, distinct from the other constituents of the plant to which it gives colour? The colouring matter of vegetables, it is said, is scarcely ever

found insulated, but is mixed or combined with other principles ; and it is obtained in a more simple and pure state, by the action of those agents which are capable of effecting its dissolution. This supposed *sui generis* colouring matter, however, has never, so far as we know, been obtained in a simple state unmixed with gum, resin, oil, or other known vegetable constituents ; and this, though not a proof of its non-existence, is sufficient to make us cautious in admitting it to exist. Sometimes, the colours of vegetables are extracted by water, which must be cold or warm according to circumstances ; for even in so simple a circumstance as this, there seems to be a diversity of affinities in the colouring principle. Nay, it is not always soluble even in water ; recourse must sometimes be had to alcohol, and, in some instances, to essential or expressed oils. Alkalies and acids also must sometimes be employed before its solution can be effected. Now, it can easily be conceived, that when it is in complicated combination with resins, gums, tannin, and the like, the operation of different chemical agents may be required for its separation ; but, when once the separation is effected, it ought to exhibit common properties ; otherwise, it can never be esteemed a distinct principle. Dr. Ure seems to take a similar view of the subject, from the manner in which he speaks of the colouring matter of linen, in the article BLEACHING. He has given an article, however, on the BITTER PRINCIPLE, which is open to the same objections as lie against the Colouring Principle.

On turning to the article ENAMEL, we discovered a very material typographical error, not noticed in the Errata. The heading of the article is omitted, and, apparently, a paragraph or more. As it now stands, it appears as a continuation of the article EMULSION, which is also imperfect.—We are, on the whole, well pleased with the arrangement of the articles. In the article ACID, however, Dr. Ure has, we think injudiciously, included an account of all the acids, instead of distributing them through the alphabet, which has swelled the article to nearly a hundred pages, about an eighth of the whole work.

There are a few other obvious improvements which we beg leave to suggest, in the event of a new edition, derived from other Dictionaries on a similar plan. One of these would be, the practice adopted in Brewster's Encyclopedia, and since followed by Mr. Cooper in his Surgical Dictionary ; of referring, at the close of each important article, to the works of best authority where more particular details may be found than consist with the circumscribed columns of a Dictionary. Dr. Ure, in his Introduction, seems to have some objection against references to works, as being a mark of pedantry which is better avoided. The references, however, which we recommend on the plan of Cooper, are very different from pedantic references in-

tended as a display of reading. These are very easily manufactured without much trouble of reading. But, in a professed book of reference, a notice of the chief authors in which more extensive information may be procured, appended to each of the longer articles, appears to us, if not indispensable, yet, of unequivocal utility.

There is one respect in which Dr. Ure's Dictionary is decidedly superior to most works of the kind. He has seldom barely copied the language of his authorities, but has apparently re-written most of the articles; a practice which gives more uniformity and consistency to a work of this kind, than copying without alteration, one article from one author, and another from another, at the hazard of introducing different or even contradictory opinions. Most of the purely chemical part, however, is drawn, with little change in the expression, from Sir H. Davy's *Elements*; and 'for whatever is valuable in the mineralogical department, the reader is ultimately indebted to Professor Jameson,' from whose excellent system, the chief part of the descriptions of mineral species, is abridged. The mineralogical articles form a very valuable part of the work. The extended dissertations on *Caloric, Combustion, Dew, Distillation, Electricity, Gas, Light, and Thermometer*, are original, and do great credit to the Author. The article on *Equivalents (Chemical)*, is also new, and highly valuable, as are the additions to the article *Attraction*. On the whole, we confidently recommend this Dictionary to medical students, manufacturers, agriculturists, and mineralogists, as the most useful work on Chemistry, which they can possess; and we have no doubt that, in popularity, it will soon rank with Cooper's *Surgical Dictionary*, and Thomas's *Practice of Physic*.

Art. V. 1. *The Natural History of Ants*; by M. P. Huber. Translated from the French, with additional Notes, by J. R. Johnson. M.D. F.R.S. 12mo. pp. xlvii, 398. London. 1820.

2. *New Observations on the Natural History of Bees*; by Francis Huber. Translated from the Original. Second Edition. 12mo. London.

INSTEAD of being surprised at the brilliant discoveries which have, from time to time, been made in natural history, one is ready to feel some astonishment at the slow progress of a science which requires little previous preparation beyond a ready glance and an observant habit. The admiration of nature on a large scale, is a universal feeling; and to have no relish for the beautiful, the wild, the grand, in scenery, argues a deficiency in one of the most common endowments of civilized man. But this broad field of vision and inquiry, swarms with minute and interesting objects which have richly repaid the curiosity of those

who have made inquisition into their peculiarities, and which yet afford an ample range for the exercise both of superficial and of close research. It has not unfrequently happened, that a merely casual observation has led to a series of investigations which have laid open some of the most mysterious laws of physical evolution. It is in this way that every individual has it in his power to confer obligations on philosophy, by simply availing himself of the easy opportunities within his reach. And if persons of leisure would attach themselves to some pursuit of this kind, a collection of monographs might thus be formed, which would supply the systematic naturalist with some of his richest materials. When the Messrs. Huber began their interesting courses of experiment, they were in possession of no advantages but such as are common to persons of liberal education. Yet, by steadily pursuing one main track of attentive and judicious observation, they have, each in his respective path, thrown new light on some of the most interesting departments of natural science; they have disclosed new proofs of the wisdom and beneficence of the great Organizer of existence; and they have dissected out new ramifications of that grand system of intelligence which, while in its fulness and prevalence it resides in man as the lord of the creation, actuates, in various degrees of energy, all the tribes of animation from the elephant to the mite.

The singular and half-rational politics of the Bee and of the Ant, have at all times excited the curiosity both of the scientific and of the common observer of nature. The former, in particular, by its regular system of architecture, and by the evident signs of forecast and combination displayed in its social *régime*, has supplied some of the strongest arguments on the side of those who are disposed to concede to the lower families of the animal creation, the possession of reasoning faculty as a principle of action. Its peculiar qualities and valuable productions have entitled it to close and accurate investigation; and philosophers of high fame have bestowed much of their time in the examination of its manners and instincts. Swammerdam and Reaumur employed themselves in these researches; and others of inferior note, as Wildman, Riem, Hattorf, and Shirach, have been distinguished for their successful prosecution of practical observations in the same direction. It is to the latter, that we are indebted for two of the most important discoveries connected with the economy of bees. He first established the fact, that the workers are all of the female sex, and ascertained the metamorphosis of the *larva* of the labourer into the queen, merely by the substitution of different food, and the enlargement of the common into a royal cell. When all the queens are withdrawn from a hive, a certain number of the worms of the working bee

are invariably selected by the community for the purpose of supplying the deficiency; the apartments are extended, a more stimulating nourishment is supplied, and a mode of treatment adapted which never fails of the desired effect. Whence comes this complete alteration of habit and routine in these sagacious insects? Whence this shrewd adaptation of new measures to unusual exigencies? We may amuse ourselves with applying quaint epithets to rational actions; but we cannot thus annihilate their rationality. Such conduct in man is admitted to be the result of reason and knowledge: why should it be denied in the case of bees? When the ant, having built the walls of its apartment, springs its little arch to form the ceiling, and finding that she has failed in rightly estimating the point of junction, razes the whole to construct it afresh—what is this but reason? Not human reason indeed, nor accountable knowledge, but still a spark of that ethereal essence which pervades all sentient existence as its light and guide.

The merit of by far the most important and connected series of discoveries relating to the nature and habits of bees, is due to the talents and perseverance of Mr. Francis Huber, who, though afflicted with that severest of bodily privations, loss of sight, has succeeded, by the agency of assistants and domestics under his personal direction, in verifying, correcting, and extending former experiments, and in ascertaining a great number of additional facts, until he has given an entirely new aspect to this branch of entomology. His simple but admirable invention of the box-hive, opening on hinges in narrow compartments, has enabled him to watch the most secret movements of his swarms; and a number of well-conceived contrivances have given him the means of witnessing transactions hitherto considered as beyond the range of inspection. His observations on the fecundation of the queen, have completely cleared up that hitherto mysterious point. He has established the fact, that the egg is not conveyed by the worker, but deposited in its cell by the mother; and when he compelled the queen to drop them 'at random,' the eggs were eaten by the labourers. He was, if we rightly understand the passage, previously to his total loss of sight, an actual spectator of the annual massacre of the males; and he has ascertained some curious particulars respecting the effects of retarded impregnation on the progeny of the queen. He seems to have left nothing for future discovery in his verification of the various circumstances connected with swarming, and he has supplied a considerable collection of interesting illustrations of the habits of the queen through all the stages of her history. These singular animals feel the most implacable hostility towards each other. When the royal cells send forth their tenants, they engage immediately in murderous conflict; but when, as is

usually the case, one of the queens is first excluded, she proceeds without delay to the still closed receptacles, and destroys her embryo rivals.

'In one of our thinnest hives, two queens left their cells almost at the same moment. Whenever they observed each other, they rushed together, apparently with great fury, and were in such a position that the antennæ of each was (were) seized by the teeth of the other: the head, breast, and belly of the one, were opposed to the head, breast, and belly of the other; the extremity of their bodies had only to be curved that they might be reciprocally pierced with the stings, and both fall dead together. But it seems as if nature has not ordained that both combatants should perish in the duel; but rather that, when finding themselves in the situation described, they should fly at that moment with the utmost precipitation. Thus, when these two rivals felt the extremities about to meet, they disengaged themselves and each fled away.....A few minutes after the two queens separated, their terror ceased, and they again began to seek each other. Immediately on coming in sight, they rushed together, seized one another, and resumed exactly their former position. The result of this rencounter was the same.....At last, the queen which was either the strongest or the most enraged, darted on her rival at a moment when unperceived, and with her teeth caught the origin of the wing; then rising above her, brought the extremity of her own body under the belly of the other; and by this means easily pierced her with the sting. Then she withdrew her sting after losing (loosing) hold of the wing. The vanquished queen fell down, dragged herself languidly along, and, her strength failing, she soon expired.'

It is remarkable, that the working bees appear to take an intense interest in these quarrels. When the queens separate, they impede their flight by seizing their limbs, and only liberate them when they prepare to renew the conflict. The circumstances are precisely similar when a strange queen is introduced into a hive: she is immediately surrounded by part of the bees, while another division encloses the queen regnant; the rivals are brought in sight of each other, and they are not allowed to recede until one has fallen.

We regret that this valuable and interesting little book has not been so constructed as to admit of indiscriminate perusal. Its attractive and important details adapt it in a peculiar manner for the use and gratification of the young; but there are certain particulars which, however necessary to philosophical inquiry, are too minute and distinct to be with propriety presented to the minds of youth. On this point, we have old-fashioned notions which would have led us strongly to recommend the publication of the elucidations to which we allude, under the veil of a learned language.

The memoir on *Ants* is by the son of the Author of the former

work. It exhibits the results of an extensive and well-conducted series of researches into the habits of that industrious race of insects. Their character, their social economy, their wars, and their alliances are described in a very distinct and agreeable manner; and the book has had the good fortune of falling into the hands of an effective editor, who, in addition to a respectably executed translation, has increased the value of his original by instructive notes. The title is, however, somewhat too comprehensive; since the work refers mainly to such varieties of the Ant as came immediately under the Author's inspection, while those which inhabit other climes and countries, are only incidentally and partially adverted to. In nothing are the skill and industry of this wonderful insect more remarkable, than in the construction of their habitations. The Fallow Ant covers its nest with leaves, sticks, and all kinds of miscellaneous materials, disposed apparently in confusion, but really with the utmost care, and in such a manner as effectually to defend it against the entrance of its enemies, and the inclemencies of the sky. During the day, in fine weather, the barriers are removed, and the avenues thrown open for the free passage of the bustling inhabitants: as evening approaches, the defences are replaced, the barricades strengthened, the guards stationed, and every thing is secured, while the sheltered citizens enjoy their repose. The interior is distributed into halls and galleries constructed of earth tempered with rain-water. The 'hill' of the Mason Ant is built on the same general principles, but with more regularity and compactness: it contains sometimes not fewer than forty stories, half above ground, and an equal portion below the surface. Some tribes display the utmost sagacity in availing themselves of any accidental position of blades of grass, stalks of corn, or other slight materials, in the formation of their lodges. Should one of these shrewd creatures find two fragments of straw lying at right angles, it makes use of them as the beams and joists of its little chamber, and filling up the spaces with moistened earth, soon completes a new apartment.

' Those ants who lay the foundation of a wall, a chamber, or gallery, from working separately, occasion now and then a want of coincidence in the parts of the same or different objects. Such examples are of no unfrequent occurrence, but they by no means embarrass them. What follows proves that the workman on discovering his error, knew how to rectify it.

' A wall had been erected with the view of sustaining a vaulted ceiling, still incomplete, that had been projected from the wall of the opposite chamber. The workman who began constructing it, had given it too little elevation to meet the opposite partition upon which it was to rest. Had it been continued on the original plan, it must infallibly have met the wall at about one-half of its height, and this it

was necessary to avoid. This state of things very forcibly claimed my attention; when one of the ants, arriving at the place, and visiting the works, appeared to be struck by the difficulty which presented itself; but this it soon obviated, by taking down the ceiling and raising the wall upon which it reposed. It then, in my presence, constructed a new ceiling with the fragments of the former one.' pp. 40—41.

The Timber Ants construct their nests in the trunk or root of trees, which they excavate into innumerable stories, each consisting of many chambers and passages. The floors and ceilings are reduced to the thinness of card, and assume, probably by the action of the formic acid, a blackish hue. This latter circumstance is, however, peculiar to one species only.

Finding that it was impossible, while confining himself to the common modes of observation, to make himself acquainted with the interior economy of the ant-hill, Mr. Huber contrived an apparatus which, with some management, enabled him to witness all the different movements and processes of his ants. He watched the successive stages of their existence, the modes of nurture and feeding, and the varying habits of distinct species. By these means, he has established a chain of facts which affords, if not a complete, a satisfactory and connected history of the Ant in its general character and manners, and which supplies a framework that other inquirers may more easily fill up. Among the objects to which he more specially directed his attention, was the ascertainment of the modes of communication between the individuals of these little communities. In illustration of this point, he describes the following amusing scene.

'The feet of the artificial ant-hill, or *ruche*, were plunged in vessels constantly filled with water; this expedient, originally adopted to arrest the passage of the ants, proved to them a fruitful source of delight, for they there slaked their thirst (like butterflies, bees, and other insects), during the great heat of summer. One day, whilst they were assembled at the foot of the *ruche*, occupied in licking up the little drops which filtered between the fibres of the wood, (which they preferred to the taking it from the basin itself,) I amused myself in disturbing them. This trifling experiment gave rise to a scene which appeared conclusive. The greater part of the ants immediately ascended the leg of the *ruche*; a few, however, remained, whom my presence had not alarmed, and who continued carousing. But one of those who had regained the *ruche*, came back and approached one of its companions, who appeared fully absorbed in the pleasure of drinking; it pushed it with its mandibles several times successively, raising and lowering its head alternately, and at length succeeded in driving it off. The officious ant then reached another, who was engaged in the same office, and endeavoured to drive it off also, by striking the abdomen behind; but seeing that it did not appear to, or would not, understand its meaning, it approached the consuet, and gave it

work. It exhibits the results of an extensive and well-conducted series of researches into the habits of that industrious race of insects. Their character, their social economy, their wars, and their alliances are described in a very distinct and agreeable manner; and the book has had the good fortune of falling into the hands of an effective editor, who, in addition to a respectably executed translation, has increased the value of his original by instructive notes. The title is, however, somewhat too comprehensive; since the work refers mainly to such varieties of the Ant as came immediately under the Author's inspection, while those which inhabit other climes and countries, are only incidentally and partially adverted to. In nothing are the skill and industry of this wonderful insect more remarkable, than in the construction of their habitations. The Fallow Ant covers its nest with leaves, sticks, and all kinds of miscellaneous materials, disposed apparently in confusion, but really with the utmost care, and in such a manner as effectually to defend it against the entrance of its enemies, and the inclemencies of the sky. During the day, in fine weather, the barriers are removed, and the avenues thrown open for the free passage of the bustling inhabitants: as evening approaches, the defences are replaced, the barricades strengthened, the guards stationed, and every thing is secured, while the sheltered citizens enjoy their repose. The interior is distributed into halls and galleries constructed of earth tempered with rain-water. The 'hill' of the Mason Ant is built on the same general principles, but with more regularity and compactness: it contains sometimes not fewer than forty stories, half above ground, and an equal portion below the surface. Some tribes display the utmost sagacity in availing themselves of any accidental position of blades of grass, stalks of corn, or other slight materials, in the formation of their lodges. Should one of these shrewd creatures find two fragments of straw lying at right angles, it makes use of them as the beams and joists of its little chamber, and filling up the spaces with moistened earth, soon completes a new apartment.

' Those ants who lay the foundation of a wall, a chamber, or gallery, from working separately, occasion now and then a want of coincidence in the parts of the same or different objects. Such examples are of no unfrequent occurrence, but they by no means embarrass them. What follows proves that the workman on discovering his error, knew how to rectify it.

' A wall had been erected with the view of sustaining a vaulted ceiling, still incomplete, that had been projected from the wall of the opposite chamber. The workman who began constructing it, had given it too little elevation to meet the opposite partition upon which it was to rest. Had it been continued on the original plan, it must infallibly have met the wall at about one-half of its height, and this it

was necessary to avoid. This state of things very forcibly claimed my attention; when one of the ants, arriving at the place, and visiting the works, appeared to be struck by the difficulty which presented itself; but this it soon obviated, by taking down the ceiling and raising the wall upon which it reposed. It then, in my presence, constructed a new ceiling with the fragments of the former one.' pp. 40—41.

The Timber Ants construct their nests in the trunk or root of trees, which they excavate into innumerable stories, each consisting of many chambers and passages. The floors and ceilings are reduced to the thinness of card, and assume, probably by the action of the formic acid, a blackish hue. This latter circumstance is, however, peculiar to one species only.

Finding that it was impossible, while confining himself to the common modes of observation, to make himself acquainted with the interior economy of the ant-hill, Mr. Huber contrived an apparatus which, with some management, enabled him to witness all the different movements and processes of his ants. He watched the successive stages of their existence, the modes of nurture and feeding, and the varying habits of distinct species. By these means, he has established a chain of facts which affords, if not a complete, a satisfactory and connected history of the Ant in its general character and manners, and which supplies a framework that other inquirers may more easily fill up. Among the objects to which he more specially directed his attention, was the ascertainment of the modes of communication between the individuals of these little communities. In illustration of this point, he describes the following amusing scene.

'The feet of the artificial ant-hill, or *ruche*, were plunged in vessels constantly filled with water; this expedient, originally adopted to arrest the passage of the ants, proved to them a fruitful source of delight, for they there slaked their thirst (like butterflies, bees, and other insects), during the great heat of summer. One day, whilst they were assembled at the foot of the *ruche*, occupied in licking up the little drops which filtered between the fibres of the wood, (which they preferred to the taking it from the bason itself,) I amused myself in disturbing them. This trifling experiment gave rise to a scene which appeared conclusive. The greater part of the ants immediately ascended the leg of the *ruche*; a few, however, remained, whom my presence had not alarmed, and who continued carousing. But one of those who had regained the *ruche*, came back and approached one of its companions, who appeared fully absorbed in the pleasure of drinking; it pushed it with its mandibles several times successively, raising and lowering its head alternately, and at length succeeded in driving it off. The officious ant then reached another, who was engaged in the same office, and endeavoured to drive it off also, by striking the abdomen behind; but seeing that it did not appear to, or would not, understand its meaning, it approached the corslet, and gave it

two or three blows with the end of its mandibles. The ant, being at length apprised of the necessity of withdrawing, passed precipitately to the bell-glass; a third, warned in the same manner, and by the same ant, quickly regained its habitation; but a fourth, who remained alone at the water's edge, would not retire, notwithstanding numerous proofs of the solicitude of which it was the object:—it appeared to pay no attention to the reiterated blows of its friendly monitor, who at length seized it by one of its legs, and dragged it rather roughly. The toper, however, returned, keeping his large pincers extended with all the appearance of rage, and again stationed himself to quaff the delightful beverage; but its companion would give it no quarter; coming in front, it seized it by its mandibles, and dragged it very rapidly into the ant-hill.' pp. 148—150.

One of the most remarkable peculiarities in the history of the Ant, is to be found in the connexion subsisting between it and the *puceron* tribe of insects. The latter are to the former, what his herds of milch cattle are to man: they are collected and guarded by the Ant with the utmost care, and the sweet glutinous excretion ejected by these Aphides, supplies the little labourer with his principal nutriment. Mr. Huber found these animals in various situations near the different ant-hills; frequently at the roots of plants, sometimes in the nests themselves, but always treated with the most solicitous attention, carried off by the ants on the approach of danger, and in all respects exhibiting the appearance of complete subserviency to the control of their owners. 'Who could have imagined that the ants were a *pastoral tribe*?' The ant does not find it necessary to wait for the regular period of producing this liquid. When hungry, he strolls among his insect cattle, strikes one of them gently but rapidly with his antennæ, and the signal is always obeyed when the *puceron* has not been previously exhausted by other *milkers*. It is a striking coincidence, that the ant and the *puceron* become torpid at precisely the same reduction of temperature, so that when the former revives from its hybernal sleep, it finds its nourisher awake and ready for its supply. The eggs of the Aphides receive from the ant the same care and attention as it bestows on its own offspring.

Not less extraordinary is the discovery, the credit of which is due to Mr. Huber, of a species of ant which attacks the nests of other species, for the purpose of carrying off their young. The Rufescent Ant, sometimes called by him the Amazon and the Legionary from its exclusively warlike habits, does not construct its own nest, nor tend its own young, except in cases of necessity. He was accidentally directed to this discovery by observing, in 1804, a close column of this tribe traversing the road. Attracted by the sight, he traced the movements of the insects, and saw them approach a hill tenanted by the Ash-coloured Ant, and, after a 'short but obstinate conflict,' put the garrison to flight.

The next step was to make an opening with their teeth in the defences of the nest, and to enter by the breach ; but they speedily returned, ' each bearing off in its mouth a larva or a pupa,' with which they returned to their own abode. Dr. Johnson informs us, in a note, that

' the tactics of these marauders vary with the enemy they have to contend with ; in this instance, conscious of carrying off their booty, without further opposition from the Ash-coloured Ants, the army no longer keeps in rank, but separates into straggling parties, each hastening by a different route, to deposit their spoil in the common treasury: but, when these intrepid adventurers attack a nest of mining ants, and return successful, they are then obliged, from the known spirit and courage of the latter, to keep close order, and march in a body to the very gates of their citadel : as it not unfrequently happens, they are followed and harassed the whole way by the mining ants, who leave no exertion untried to recover their treasure.' p. 251.

Mr. Huber frequently witnessed these expeditions, and minutely noted the various movements which preceded and followed them. He found that the hills of the Rufescent or martial Ant, were uniformly inhabited by them in common with some other species of their own race, commonly the Ash-coloured kind ; and that while the former, engaging in a sort of slave-trade, supplied the nest with the larvæ of ' negro' labourers, the latter, when they attained their growth, became perfectly domiciliated, took charge of all the household business, welcomed the *moss-troopers* on their successful return from their predatory forays, and, in one remarkable instance, assailed with direct violence a party which came back empty-handed. There is another variety which subsists in the same manner, with this difference, that, unlike the Rufescent tribe, while it occasionally sets out on plundering excursions, it not only domesticates with its ' negroes,' but assists them in their labours.

Art. VI. 1. *An Appeal to the Legislature and the Public*, more especially to Dissenters from the Established Church, of every Denomination, on the Tendency of Mr. Brougham's Bill for the Education of the Poor. By James Baldwin Brown, Esq. LL.D. &c. 8vo. pp. 100. Price 3s. London. 1821.

2. *Christian Remembrancer*. March 1821.—Art. Opposition to Mr. Brougham's Bill.

IN our last Number, we took a review of the objections which lie against Mr. Brougham's Bill, on the broad ground of its inefficiency as a measure designed to extend and perpetuate the benefits of Education ; briefly adverted, at the same time, to its injurious interference with the interests of religious liberty. The *economical* objections which, after all, Mr. Brougham will

find the greatest difficulty in disposing of to the satisfaction of the country gentlemen, and which will probably prove fatal to the Bill,—we forbore then to enter into, not because we were insensible of their importance, but because they relate to the *practicability* of the measure, rather than to its intrinsic merits.

The arguments we employed, were directed to shew, not simply that the proposed measure would involve a serious grievance to a large portion of the community, but that it would not be a benefit to the whole. A partial inconvenience may require to be submitted to for the sake of a greater good from which it is inseparable; but, for the inconvenience, and vexation, and positive cost which the Education Bill would inflict upon the Dissenters, we endeavoured to shew that no equivalent or compensation would be ensured to them in the shape of a general advantage.

To press the economical objections,—we mean those which arise out of the burthensome nature of the provisions of the Bill,—might have seemed like an attempt to excite a clamour against the measure, instead of a temperate discussion. And yet, it is highly important that the public should be in full possession of all the bearings of the Bill, since the *money* objections are more easily understood by many persons, and come more directly home, than any considerations of moral expediency. The bare fact, that Mr. Brougham's measure would entail a serious burthen on the already over-burthened and rapidly accumulating *county rates*, that it would add another vexatious item to the long array of taxes, and that it would substitute, to a great extent, for the *voluntary contributions of the rich, the forced payments of the poor*,—this fact will spare the necessity, in many quarters, of any laboured argumentation to prove that the legislative quackery of the Bill ought to be resisted.

The public are indebted to Dr. Baldwin Brown for having, in his full and able analysis of the Bill, placed this fact in a most striking point of view. We regret only, that he has mixed up the general objections too much with the objections peculiar, or chiefly relating, to Dissenters from the Establishment. We regret that he has made his appeal so directly to *them*, because this will tend to confirm the false impression which prevails in many quarters, that *their* interests only are threatened by the proposed measure. The activity of the Dissenters in opposing it, has already produced an effect which we take no great credit to ourselves for having anticipated: it has raised up a party among the Churchmen in favour of the measure. There are many who are beginning to argue thus: If the Dissenters are so alarmed at the operation of the projected Bill, it must be a better thing for *our* Church than we thought it was, and Mr. Brougham, whom we

have so long been vilifying as a radical, must be a very good sort of man. Thus, by the rule of contraries, they arrive at the conclusion, that what the sectaries oppose, must be good. A very sudden conversion of opinion—much more sudden than consists with their theology—appears to have been effected on the minds of certain Journalists to whom we have before adverted, by this process of reasoning. It is really amusing to notice the change of tone which is apparent in the last Number of the *Christian Remembrancer*, in an article which has for its running title, '*Opposition to Mr. Brougham's Bill*;' the change of tone in speaking both of the measure and its originator. They have been 'assured, on good authority, that a *well-known Dissenter* has publicly declared, that Mr. Brougham himself, in all the pride of his talents and his popularity, shall be humbled to the very dust before the majesty of Schism.' Now, we are quite aware that there are a number of very foolish Dissenters, as well as of very foolish Churchmen; and we cannot take upon ourselves, therefore, to deny that some one of these may have made a speech on the subject almost as foolish as that which is here invented; but that these words can have been used by a Dissenter, is obviously incredible, since no Dissenter would have talked about the 'majesty of schism.' But, even if any such thing in substance has been publicly said by any 'well-known' individual belonging to the immense body of the Dissenters, no writer who had the least regard for fairness and honesty, would have been guilty of printing that speech, on hearsay, as a specimen of the feelings of the Dissenters. The malignant design for which it is cited, shews itself in the comment made by this '*Christian Remembrancer*.'

'We trust that his (Mr. Brougham's) nerves will enable him to bear this threat with coolness; and we conceive that the threat itself will alone be sufficient to destroy any lingering hope that he may hitherto have cherished, of enlisting the Dissenters in the cause of Education!' *Christian Remembrancer*. March. p. 176.

We do not know whether Mr. Brougham is in the habit of seeing either the *Christian Remembrancer* or the *Eclectic Review*; he, probably, has no time to waste upon either. But should some friend point out to him the above passage, we can answer for it, that the *threat* will be as new to him as the idea of enlisting the Dissenters in a cause in which they have, from the first, been volunteers, without waiting for beat of drum or the King's bounty. The only *threat* which the Dissenters could possibly hold out to Mr. Brougham, is that of praying the Parliament to be delivered from his Bill; a constitutional resource which has too often failed, to be confidently relied upon, and which, if successful, would leave Mr. Brougham unhumiliated by

defeat. Yet, what other means of humbling him Dissenters possess, we really are not aware of. *They* can oppose no obstacles to his promotion to the highest offices of the State. *They* can whisper no insinuations against him in the ear of Prerogative. *They* cannot bestir themselves even to prevent his return to the next Parliament for the county of Westmoreland. No, Dissenters are too feelingly alive to their want of political influence, to think of *terrifying* Mr. Brougham into an act of justice: they have too high respect for his understanding, and too much policy, were there no other reason, to adopt this course. And Mr. Brougham must be quite aware from his repeated interviews with many of the most respectable Dissenters, that the representation of the Christian Remembrancer is a false one.

If the Dissenters do not hope to terrify Mr. Brougham, still less can they entertain the insane project of terrifying the Legislature, by repeating 'the *manœuvre*,' as it is termed, 'which' 'was played off against Lord Sidmouth's Bill.' Mr. William Smith, and Mr. John Wilks, and the other gentlemen who are honoured with this Writer's abuse, cannot have overlooked the essential points of difference between the two cases of Lord Sidmouth's Bill, and Mr. Brougham's. In the former case, it was imperative on the Legislature to comply with the prayer of the Petitioners, because the proposed measure was defended by the plea of their supposed concurrence, and because that concurrence, which was so unequivocally disproved, could alone have afforded the shadow of a pretext for interfering with their established rights. In the present case, the Dissenters are but one party concerned, and there is no security, derived from their own strength, that they shall not share the fate of other classes of petitioners—the agriculturists, or the petitioners for a reform in the representation. Besides, though we trust the time will never come, when petitioning both Houses of Parliament will become absolutely nugatory, yet, since the period at which Lord Sidmouth brought forward his Bill, considerable pains have been taken to counteract the due operation of petitions, by inculcating the doctrine, that the wisdom of Parliament is as absolute as its authority is paramount; and that it is beneath the dignity of senators, to be moved by petitions, however numerous, when, by virtue of being members of the House of Commons, they must be so much better judges of every subject brought before them, than any persons 'out of doors' can be. Petitions, however, still have some weight; even petitions coming from Independents, Methodists, and Quakers; and should it be necessary, we trust that the Dissenters will know how temperately to avail themselves of this method of making their voice heard against the proposed Bill, in spite of every attempt to deter them from it by representing it either as factious or useless. Nor can we believe that the insolent recommenda-

tion of this Churchman will meet with the least favour from any man of character, namely, 'that if the great body of Protestant Dissenters should persist in a systematic and factious opposition to the principle of the proposed Bills, the opinions of that body, large and powerful as it is, ought to be put entirely out of the question; and the Legislature should proceed as if no such persons were in existence.'

We have already bestowed more attention on this despicable attack, than the quarter from which it proceeds entitles it to; but it presents so striking an illustration of the *spirit* in which the provisions of Mr. Brougham's Bill are likely to be administered by the clerical opponents of Dissenters, into whose hands the whole power would be thrown, that in this point of view it reads them a very useful lesson. One main object with the Writer appears to be, to throw the whole credit of originating the opposition to Mr. Brougham's Bill, upon 'the fertile genius of Mr. John Wilks.' Now it is very evident, that he is not so uninformed on this point as to be unconscious of the disingenuousness (to use the mildest term) of this proceeding. For any part which Mr. John Wilks has taken, he is, we dare say, well able to answer. Had he slumbered at his post, he would not have justified the confidence reposed in his professional and personal character. But whether Mr. John Wilks was the first, or the second, or the twentieth, to detect and expose the exceptionable nature of Mr. Brougham's plan, it is certain, and the Writer knows it, that the main opposition has *not* proceeded from *him*. The Committee of the British and Foreign School Society, did not come to Mr. Wilks, to consult him as to the bearings of the Bill upon their institutions. That large and respectable body of the Dissenters, the Society of Friends, do not employ Mr. Wilks as their solicitor, or take their instructions from *him*. The Deputies to protect the Civil Rights of Dissenters to which reference is made in this same Number of the Remembrancer, are not in the habit of communicating with Mr. Wilks. Nor, finally, does either 'the Wesleyan Conference,' or 'the Red-cross-street Association,'* draw upon 'the genius' and exertions of that gentleman. As secretary to the Protestant Society for the protection of Religious Liberty, Mr. Wilks has, doubtless, been concerned in whatever steps that society have thought proper to take; and it seems that, at their last anniversary in May 1820, he did warn that society to beware of the intended measure. But we have good reason to believe that alarm had already been taken in other quarters.

* The association of Dissenting ministers who hold their meetings in the Red-cross street library, we suppose to be meant by what the Churchman terms the White-cross street Association.

And it is, at all events, well known to Mr. Brougham, that the main opposition to his measure has not been raised by that society, has not resulted from the factious endeavours of any one individual, has not been expressed in the language of clamour, but has proceeded from men whose mild philanthropy, well-tryed disinterestedness, and devotedness to the cause of Education, he will be the last man to deny, and to whose very prejudices, if he judged them such, he must have felt reluctant to do violence.

It is not a little remarkable, that, among the pamphlets which have appeared on the subject, Dr. Brown's is the first which has been put forth by any member of the Protestant Society; and this, the Christian Remembrancer does not appear to have seen. We believe that it had not, in fact, been published. Three out of the four pamphlets noticed in the Remembrancer, viz. Mr. Lloyd's, Dr. Butler's, and the "Plain Thoughts," are written by Churchmen. The fourth, the "Observations," noticed also in our last Number, we have since understood to be the production of a gentleman who eminently deserves the honourable name of a philanthropist, to whose indefatigable but comparatively secret labours, the cause of humanity in different parts of the world is very essentially indebted, and who was never charged, so far as we can learn, with being either a Quaker or a Methodist. If we may speak of ourselves, we will add, that to neither the Protestant Society, nor its secretary, belongs the responsibility of what we have advanced on the subject. So much for this Writer's indecent personal attack upon Mr. John Wilks!

Of a piece with this artful attempt to fasten the opposition to the principle of the Bill, on an obnoxious individual, is the conduct of this same Writer in attributing the Bill itself to Mr. Brougham's 'principal assistants in the Education Committee,' Mr. Babington and Mr. Butterworth.

'It is *whispered*, that the plan of education proposed in Mr. Brougham's Bill, is rather the plan of those gentlemen, and of their friend Mr. Wilberforce, than his own. There is nothing by which the lives of these three gentlemen have been more distinguished, than by a desire to coalesce and co-operate with the Dissenters; and they have pursued the scheme at a risk, and by sacrifices, of which a *vast majority of the clergy* disapprove; and which appear to many to endanger the very existence of the Establishment. And it is *their* plan of coalition, and friendship, and mutual forbearance, against which Mr. Wilks and his brethren protest. Twenty years of intimate alliance and friendship; twenty years of mutual esteem and approbation; encouragement upon encouragement, and concession after concession, have all been thrown away. The moment that these three gentlemen, in coalition, not with the Bishops and Clergy, but with Mr. Brougham, propose a plan for education as the product of their joint labours, they are branded as tyrants, and persecutors, and bigots; their friendship is forsworn, and the whole edifice falls to the ground.

This is a *plain unvarnished tale*, and it proves the inexpediency of courting Dissenters by concession.' C. M. p. 177.

If this plain, unvarnished tissue of falsehood proves nothing else, it proves the folly of any concession on the part of the Dissenters, that should have for its ground, the growing liberality of the clergy. Concession after concession, encouragement after encouragement to the great body of the Dissenters, from two members of the Church of England, and Mr. Butterworth, the *Wesleyan* law-bookseller! *Risum teneatis?* Those gentlemen will not be a little surprised at this left-handed compliment. Great as are the obligations which the religious public at large are under, and, with regard to one of the three, we may add, the world is under, to their well appreciated labours, we have yet to learn what the concessions are for which Dissenters are so peculiarly indebted to them. But is the plan indeed theirs? We do not, and cannot believe it. But, be it whose it may, that the authors of the measure have been in consequence branded as tyrants or bigots, and that the friendship of those gentlemen has been forsworn by the Dissenters, are assertions which we should have thought the most unprincipled partizan would, for his own sake, have hardly ventured to utter.

One article in the statement is, we fear, but too true: 'a vast majority of the clergy' disapprove of even that degree of co-operation with the Dissenters in works of benevolence, of amicable intercourse, and of mutual esteem, which these gentlemen are represented to have maintained. Let, then, this fact be borne in mind, in considering the provisions of Mr. Brougham's Bill; let it be taken in connexion with the startling exceptive clause, (the necessity for which is a disgrace to the age,) that no child of a Dissenter shall be punished, rebuked, admonished, molested, or chastised for his absence from Church; let our readers call to mind the frequent instances enumerated by Dr. Brown, of petty oppression to which poor Dissenters in villages and obscure country districts are already exposed, from 'clerical and lay bigots of the Church, "clothed with a little brief authority"—such as being excluded from parish gifts—dismissed the poor-house—denied parochial relief—insulted and disturbed in their humble places of worship—and subjected to many injuries of a like annoying description for absenting themselves from church, and attending at a meeting-house;—and they will then be able to judge what will be the probable effect of placing Parochial education at the disposal and control of the clergy, thus warned against the inexpediency of courting the Dissenters by concession.

We have done with this Churchman.—One of the most singular features in the proposed Bill, is, the clause in favour of the eligibility of *parish clerks*. Dr. Brown has seized upon this

point as a fair topic of a little good-humoured ridicule. It was requisite, he remarks, to disqualify the minister of the parish from becoming one of its schoolmasters; the superintending, controlling, and visitorial powers conferred upon him, being plainly incompatible with the faithful discharge of the subordinate office; 'but why, in the name of common sense, expressly 'qualify the clerk?'

'Mr. Brougham candidly tells us why. It was that the attention of the parish might particularly be directed to "that ancient but degraded order of men, viewed, in the older and *better* times of the church, in the light of spiritual assistants;" but now we must add, as far as the office, and not the man, is concerned, held generally in little higher estimation than the sexton, who also in the older, though we cannot think them the *better* days of the church, was an ecclesiastical officer of not the very lowest rank. The sole qualifications for his office are, that he can read; and it would be as well if he can write; he should have, though he certainly has not always, a clear and audible voice, and a knowledge of church psalmody; but as for the casting of accounts, all that he can need, for his own proper use, or for that of the parish, is a sufficient knowledge of arithmetic to reckon up his fees, and tell the amount of his Christmas-boxes, collected in his perambulations from house to house, with the bills of mortality, or in some places with a copy of doggerel verses, ycleped a carol, which would disgrace the meanest garretteer in Grub Street. Some of them, no doubt, in cities and large towns, are men of greater erudition, and more respectable in their character, and correct in their deportment, than many a village parish clerk will be found to be, of whose occasional mode of life Mr. Brougham has given us a specimen, in the drunken ballad-singer and mole-catcher, whom he recollects discharging, in no very reverend way, the functions of this office, some years ago. Such a parish clerk is certainly not a peculiarly desirable object of selection, for the training up of youth, either in moral or religious habits, however well he may be qualified to teach them reading, writing, and arithmetic; yet, with this parliamentary designation of his peculiar official fitness for the trust, it is by no means impossible, though, it is to be hoped, not very probable, that he may nevertheless be appointed to it. But the dissenter has other and more general objections to the office of parish schoolmaster being combined with that of parish clerk, where the children of dissenting parents are likely to be placed under his instruction. The parish clerk is peculiarly under the control of the parish priest; with the one, therefore, as the master, and the other, as the superintendant and director of the schools, the object of which Mr. Brougham is so proud, and to which he so particularly invites the approving notice of the legislature—the uniting and knitting his system with what he is pleased to call the Protestant establishment, will be attained to a perfection which bodes no good to those who conscientiously depart from it. Upon them the parish clerk has other grounds than his zeal for the faith and discipline of the church in which he is an officer, for not casting any peculiarly complaisant

regards. They not only absent themselves from the ministrations of his parson, and the ordinances of his church, but they obstinately prefer other psalmody to his, and in some cases are so heterodox as to discard from their worship psalmody of every kind; besides which, under the protection of the law, they put into his pockets few or no christening fees; two of their sects, the Quakers and the Jews, are not married at his church, and, therefore, defraud him, as he will think, of his marriage dues, whilst *they* universally, and other sects wherever they have separate burial grounds,—and the short-sighted bigotry of some ministers of the establishment is rapidly extending them to every considerable town in the country,—are committed to the silent grave, “dust to dust, ashes to ashes,” without the aid of his responses or amen, and, what is worse, without paying him any burial fee. These interested motives may be too paltry to arouse the opposition of the clergy, a body of gentlemanly and well-educated men, though so selfish is human nature, that, even upon some of them, it is not without its effect; but upon this lower class of the community these pecuniary considerations will operate with all their force, in whetting their zeal against schism and schismatics; and like Demetrius and the silversmiths of Ephesus, the parish clerks of England will be inveterate against all new ways, and all heterodox opinions, by which their craft will be in danger to be set at nought, and the no small gain which the old mode of worship brought to the craftsmen will be in any way diminished. It may, indeed, be argued, that it does not follow that, because the parish clerk is made eligible to the office, he will, therefore, be chosen to it; but to this it may be replied, that the legislature having made so particular a reference to his qualifications and eligibility, the advantages which he possesses in having been already elected to office by the suffrages of the parishioners—the extreme probability of his being actively supported by his vicar, or the other officiating minister of the parish, who needs not, if he thinks proper, sign any other testimonials of orthodoxy and competency than his, will pretty generally render him candidate for a situation whose emoluments, coupled with those of his office, will render him a richer man by far, than many a curate who laboriously performs the ecclesiastical duties of a large parish, or than half the dissenting ministers of the country; and where he is a candidate, he will obviously have the best chance of being the successful one.

‘Against the propriety of his being thus selected for the parish schoolmaster, this further argument may be urged on the consideration of men of all parties, namely, that the duties of his two offices will frequently interfere with each other. Where service is performed, as the rubric requires it to be, on Wednesdays and Fridays, he will be wanted on two mornings of the week, during what are usually school hours, to attend at the church, and the frequency of funerals in large parishes, at all hours of the day, will often call him from his desk, at times that his presence is peculiarly needed there. Whilst he is in the church or the churchyard, what is to become of his scholars, where the school will not support an usher, as in comparatively few instances it will, unless they fill up their time with that *innocent play* most congenial to their age, which Mr. Brougham’s piety seems to

reserve more particularly for the evenings of the sabbath-day? Some of these objections to his mode of appointing schoolmasters, that learned gentleman had no doubt anticipated, when he concluded that here he should have the church with him, though he feared the *sec-taries* (a term which he sneeringly uses, more to the discredit of his own liberality, than to the injury of the dissenters,) will be against him.' pp. 51—56.

But the most forcible part of the Appeal is that which relates to the operation of the measure as a *tax*. The first item of expense is, that to which a parish will be liable on the mere presentation of the complaint, the wording of which seems expressly adapted to the purpose of litigation. It is not, that there are no schools in or near the parish, where reading, writing, and accounts may be learned, but, that there are none where they may *conveniently* be learned, that is to authorize the application.

' Mr. Brougham's professional practice has been exclusively in the courts above: he knows not, therefore, by experience, how technical objections are frequently disposed of in those below, before a bench of magistrates, of whom it often happens that not one has been bred a lawyer; nor is he, perhaps, fully aware of the great proportion of clergymen who generally sit as judges upon that bench in every court of quarter sessions in the kingdom: but he must know full well that, before such a court, no term could be more *convenient* for raising a quibble or a doubt, than the adverb so *conveniently* introduced into his bill. It must have a meaning, it will be argued, and it cannot be denied that it is capable of too important a one to be rejected as surplusage, which must be done, or it must have given to it its legal construction, and its full effect. The rule for that construction is to give it such an interpretation as, from the object, the spirit, and the whole tenor of the Act of Parliament in which it occurs, it was obviously the intention of the legislature that it should receive. What then is that object—what that tenor—what that spirit? but to provide for the education of the great mass of the people in the principles of the established church—a measure certainly not to be accomplished by leaving but a sectarian school for the children of any parish or district to attend. This, at least, will be the natural decision of a bench of magistrates composed exclusively of members, and, in a very large proportion, of ministers of that church.' p. 9, 10.

Against this complaint, the churchwardens are authorized to defend the parish at the parochial expense. Dr. Brown, in speaking of the expense which must necessarily be incurred in defeating a frivolous complaint, terms it immense.

' The word *immense* is used, and it is used advisedly, and upon sufficient grounds: for every one acquainted with the practice of courts of quarter sessions, must be fully aware of the vast sums expended there in the trial of appeals. On a moderate calculation, forty pounds is the lowest cost of the trial of any one such appeal: and in a vast majority of cases the expense so far exceeds this sum, whilst the uncertainty of the issue is so great in all, that parishes overloaded every

where by the weight of their poor's-rates, are perpetually putting up with burdens which they know they ought not to bear, rather than risk their increase in attempting their removal. These then surely are not times for the augmentation of those burdens, in the wanton and ruinous manner in which this bill, if ever suffered to pass into a law, will increase them. With this provision left unaltered, it is not presuming too much to prophecy that there will be no application for a new school, which, successful or unsuccessful, will not bring a heavy expense upon the parish. Whoever may make the application—whatever may be the motive for applying, if not opposed, the court will be bound to grant the prayer of the complaint: taking it, as they must, for granted, in the absence of all opposition, that the grounds alleged are reasonable and just. Hence, therefore, the parish *must* appeal, wherever protection is wished to be obtained against the expense of a new school or schools; and they may be driven to do so as often as any five litigious inhabitants may choose to put them to the trouble and expense. The rector, vicar, or officiating curate, may think that no schools are wanting, and of this opinion may be the great majority of the parish, churchmen as well as dissenters; yet if two justices of the district, or five housekeepers of the parish, are of a different opinion, the question *may* be litigated sessions after sessions, until twice the cost of the schools is thrown away in law expences, to determine whether they are needed. On the other hand, be the want of the schools ever so obvious to the minister, justices, and the great mass of the inhabitants, so long as five housekeepers cannot see the need of them, they, *at the expense of the parish*, and not at their own charge, may appeal against their establishment. If they require the churchwarden to defend them against this new imposition on the parochial rates, he must obey their summons, or subject himself to an indictment for his refusal. Should the bill ever pass, though it is to be hoped it never will, this is a clause in it of which a frequent use will not fail to be made, to the great injury of parishes, and the rapid augmentation of their intolerably heavy rates.' p. 15—17.

The complaint being heard and allowed, a house and garden or 'houses and gardens, *not exceeding three* in one parish or 'chapelry,' are to be provided for the new school or schools, and a salary for each schoolmaster. To defray the first expense, a sum not exceeding two hundred pounds for any one school, is to be paid out of the Consolidated Fund; but, as it is seldom that two hundred pounds will go very far towards the purchase of ground and the erection of a school-house, the *surplus*, unlimited but by the discretion of the justices in session assembled, is to be furnished out of the *county rate*:—'a fund,' says Dr. Brown, 'already burthened in many counties as heavily as it will bear, for the repair of bridges—the prosecution of felons—the erection and repair of prisons—and other purposes in which the county is immediately concerned, and to which its inhabitants are compellable to contribute by the existing laws.'

'In the counties palatine of Lancaster and Chester, at least, not

only those who contribute to this rate, but the magistrates themselves, whose duty it is to impose it, are loudly and publicly complaining of its rapidly accumulating amount: yet this is the period chosen by Mr. Brougham to lay upon it an additional burthen, which may soon equal in extent even the heaviest of the existing claims upon it.*

In addition to the three new schools which each parish or chapelry *may* be required to support, any existing schools may be put upon the proposed establishment, and, in that case, *must* be maintained at the public expense. And as the three buildings which the parish is liable to the cost of providing, are expressly stated to be for the accommodation of *school-masters*, and are therefore, we presume, to be schools for *boys*; should the measure be followed up with a provision for the education of girls, three other buildings may be held requisite,—unless the school-master and schoolmistress are, in all cases, to be the parish clerk and his wife, and boys and girls are to be taught together.

The salary of each of these masters, (which must be not less than twenty pounds per annum, and may be fixed by the justices at thirty,) is to be levied by assessment, in respect of the same property, and in the same manner as the poor rates are now levied. Upon this provision, we shall again avail ourselves of the present Writer's judicious comment.

* Political economists are daily representing the whole soil of the kingdom as mortgaged to the poor: and if this statement is somewhat overcharged, the consummation of the evil it depicts is, at least, rapidly approaching, and the natural operation of the Education bill will be to hasten its arrival. Upon the landed interest, and upon that alone, the burthen of its execution principally will fall, for the holder of thousands and tens of thousands in the public funds, the banker, the manufacturer, the merchant, and the tradesman, the annual returns of whose business may be ten, twenty, or thirty thousand pounds, will pay, perhaps, but on the rent of the house in which he lives, towards the salary of the schoolmasters appointed under the authority of this act, and his proportion of the sum contributed to the erection of the school out of the consolidated fund; whilst his poorer neighbour, be he churchman or dissenter, will contribute to the school rate three, four, or five shillings in the pound upon the rental of his little farm, or of the cottage in which he lives, besides the charge upon them towards that portion of the county rate which is appropriated to the purposes of this act. This burthen falls first upon the tenant, but is ultimately felt by the landlord, in the lower rent which he obtains for his houses or his ground. This consideration, founded on the inequality of the poor's rate, appeals, therefore, most powerfully to all landholders and landlords, whatever may be their religious faith, or the mode of worship they prefer, to reckon carefully, before they give their support to Mr. Brougham's bill, how they are prepared to bear the chief cost of its execution, which may be a very heavy, and is sure to be a permanent one. Appeals against poor's rates are now by no means infrequent, and are uniformly expensive beyond all

others. The school rate being founded upon the same principle, most objectionable in theory, but as difficult to amend in practice, will of course be open to the same wide range of litigation, with this additional motive to dispute its general character or its items,—that it interferes with differences of opinion on religious subjects, of which, except in the rare, illiberal, and vexatious instances of rating places of worship, the other happily stands clear. Though in all these cases the court before which they are tried, have the right of awarding costs against a frivolous and vexatious complaint, it is rarely that this is done but upon very sufficient grounds, and, even where they are granted, the extra costs disallowed by the officer on taxation, are very considerable, and fall heavily upon the parish whose officers are bound to support their rate, or make a new one. Objections to rates on points of form, and other technical matters, are also so numerous and so subtle, that the chances are decidedly against a rate being supported, when canvassed in a court of justice; and whatever may be its merits or demerits as a just and equal assessment upon the rateable inhabitants of the parish, if it is there quashed for want of form, the parish will at least have to pay its own costs, which, in a strongly contested appeal, will be from fifty to an hundred pounds. The costs of the appellant or appellants will of course be little, if any, less; and it is for the Legislature to determine whether, in times like these, they will give their sanction to a measure which has so manifest a tendency to increase the weight of parochial taxation, already so difficult to be met, and to expose parishes and individuals to such heavy expenses in litigation, as this new school rate inevitably will do. The latter consequence is here, indeed, assumed as necessarily following the imposition of a rate, against which, as it at present stands, Mr. Brougham's bill gives no appeal, though it cannot be supposed that Parliament will omit to supply this defect. If no right of appeal be given,—and it seems requisite, or would at least be safer, to introduce a clause in the bill to give it,—the injustice and inequality of the measure will be still more apparent, for the parish officers may then assess the inhabitants, conformists or non-conformists, pretty much at their pleasure; or it will at least be difficult to compel them to do it in the fair proportion, and but for the purposes which the act requires.' pp. 39—42.

Next comes the allowance to the schoolmaster in lieu of garden-ground, where this cannot conveniently be obtained, to the amount of from four to eight pounds a year. A still more formidable item is presented under the word *repairs*, the expenses of which, to the amount of ten pounds every two years, are to be laid on the school-rate. Then we come to the article *rise of salary*: the salary of the master, or masters, may be increased, with the consent of two thirds of the householders, (proxies being allowed in certain cases,) by any sum not exceeding twenty pounds yearly. Lastly, (a point which Dr. B. has omitted to notice,) these schoolmasters may, after the labours of fifteen years, retire upon a pension of two thirds of

their salaries!! Now, if the justices may order three schools to be provided for boys, and three for girls; or if, in addition to the three boys' schools, three existing national schools shall hereafter be put upon the footing of parish schools, according to the provisions of the Bill, there may be six individuals at one time to be supported out of the rate.

'And as these teachers may be superannuated at the age of *forty*, and pensioned off on two thirds of their salaries, it may be proper for Mr. Brougham to form some calculation as to the whole amount of expense to be incurred on account of these *ex officio* paupers—these honorary members of the parish poor-house.'

"Plain Thoughts." p. 24.

Church-wardens and chapel-wardens, remarks this last Writer, justices, and parish officers, and, above all, 'complain-
'ing householders,' would certainly become very important and tremendous personages, if they could have it in their power either to procure 'warrants on the Receiver-general of the
'county,' to 'take and assess buildings or lands at a month's
'notice,' or to levy a school-rate on a parish. Yet, such are the powers which this ill-digested and vexatious Bill would confer upon them. Let us cast up the account: Three or four schools in every parish; three or four times two hundred pounds towards the building of them, to be provided out of the Consolidated Fund; three or four surplusses of first expense, chargeable on the county-rate; three or four salaries payable out of the school-rate; three or four ten pounds every other year for repairs; three or four litigations; and, in due course, three or four superannuated schoolmasters and schoolmistresses.—In truth, we believe that the Dissenters need not be seriously alarmed; that they may almost with safety refrain from opposing the measure. We question whether their most zealous enemies will like to pay quite so dear for the erection of all this machinery for the purpose of putting down their Sunday Schools.

'It is certainly strange,' remarks the Plain Englishman, (and if a plain one, he is a sound one too,) 'and somewhat alarming, to behold a man of Mr. Brougham's principles thus suddenly turning his back on all the acknowledged maxims of political economy, and lending his support to a system which all wise men have been so loudly deploring. To suppose that the exertions of law and benevolence can harmonize together, and that the minds of the poor can be elevated by giving their education a *lien* on the parish rates, is to transgress the boldest limits of poetry and fiction.

Sed non ut placidis coëant immitia, non ut
Serpentes avibus gementur, tigribus agni.'

Art. VII. *Eight Lectures on the Christian Sabbath.* By William Thorn, Minister of the Gospel, at Penrith. 12mo. pp. 334. London. 1821.

WE scarcely know any subject of practical religion which it is more desirable to place in a clear point of view, than the obligation and right observance of the Lord's day. Universal experience proves that it has a close relation to the whole body of religious obedience; which is evidently found to be vigorous or languid, in proportion as this duty is honoured or is slightly regarded. The unhappy opinion, that the obligatory distinction of the Christian Sabbath lies only in its being the available opportunity for religious assemblies, has spread widely among the Protestant Churches of the continent, and has wrought a melancholy train of the worst moral effects. It has almost accomplished the extinction of visible religion, in its personal and domestic characters. This was a consequence which Calvin, and those who thought with him on the obligation of the Fourth Commandment, could not have contemplated; or it would surely have led them to a serious reconsideration of their arguments, and, we would hope, to a detection of their fallacy. The excellent President Edwards has, in our opinion, poured a flood of moral demonstration on the subject, in his "*Perpetuity and Change of the Sabbath.*" We earnestly wish that some one would print those Two Discourses in a cheap and detached form.

But, for popular use, the work before us is excellently adapted. The industrious research which the Author has made, the ardent piety and Christian simplicity which he displays, and the interesting manner in which he brings his various topics to bear upon the great point under consideration, entitle him to our cordial thanks, and well deserve our recommendation of his work to the religious public; though we have perceived some immaterial inaccuracies of statement or style, into which the Author's honest fervour has hurried him. At the present time, we fear there is great need of such a work as this. We are indeed no advocates for a gloomy or morose religion. We are sure that the most exalted piety is cheerful and gladsome. But we have perceived a most pernicious effect on the vitals of personal and family religion, to have been very evidently produced by a sensual and worldly-minded laxity with relation to Sabbath observances, in those who are usually considered as respectable and even religious people: while the constant profanation of the Lord's day by the careless and irreligious of all ranks, is the fountain to a torrent of evils, personal and domestic, moral and political, too great for any concise description.

As a specimen of Mr. Thorn's manner we present the following extract.

‘ Permit us here to pause, and make one or two reflections. Were the public and our governors but aware of how much they are indebted to God for the institution of the sabbath, they would be more concerned for its regular and due observance. Were men to esteem the sabbath for the mercies it has afforded them, in proportion as they esteem even their dogs for some generous action, we should not now have to advance motives for its proper sanctification.

“ Why are we not now, like our forefathers two thousand years ago, without the benefits of civil and social life? Why are we not roaming through the wide-spreading forests, with painted skin and savage aspect, in quest of our foes, and yet trembling for fear? Why are not the caves our dwelling, the cliffs our refuge, and the rocks our defence? Why are not our cities a wilderness, our meadows fields of war, our employment butchery, and our pleasure drinking the blood and feasting on the carcasses of our slaughtered friends? Why are we not without all those blessings which cheer us in trouble, support us in weakness, and supply us when in need? Why are we not without the knowledge of God and his Christ, the means of grace, and the hope of Glory?—Why?—Because we have a SABBATH.

‘ To the sabbath, the poor are indebted for their peace, and the rich for their plenty. This institution has produced order in society, softness in manners, and general tranquillity; it has raised a peaceful cottage over the poor man’s head, and furnished it with the necessities of life: it has afforded the middle ranks of our population the happiness of sitting at ease, neither sinking with wealth nor feeble with poverty: it has raised a palace and a throne for a monarch: it has filled the former with all that could charm the senses or gratify desire, and it has surrounded the latter with glories which rival in splendour the morning sun shining through bespangled clouds: and now, without the sabbath, we should soon return to our primitive barbarity and original wretchedness. The poor man would lose his peace, the merchant his ease, and the monarch his authority; and, in proportion as we misemploy this sacred day, in the very same proportion shall we return to former manners and former miseries.

‘ And, though all this is universally known and as universally acknowledged, [*query?*] yet, wonderful to think, we have to heap argument upon argument, and motive upon motive, to constrain mankind to observe it at all! We have to persuade them by all that is dear, and to urge them by all that is dreadful; we have, in the name of God, to entreat and to threaten, to beseech and to command, a due observance of this holy day; and, after all we can do, they will profane it themselves, and teach others to do the same!’

pp. 198—201.

Art. VIII. *Persuasives to Early Piety*; interspersed with suitable Prayers. By J. G. Pike. 12mo. pp. 284. Price 3s. 6d. bound. Derby. 1819.

THE Author of this work has endeavoured, and we think with success, 'to imitate the serious plainness which prevails in the writings of some of those eminent men who lived a century and a half or two centuries ago;' steering clear, at the same time, of their quaintness, which, impressive as it sometimes is in an old author, is but a displeasing affectation in a modern one. The work is divided into three and twenty chapters; and these are sub-divided into short sections; each chapter having for its subject some distinct argument in favour of early piety. The style is simple, earnest, and persuasive,—well adapted to gain the attention of young persons, for whose use the work is designed; and its cheapness will, we hope, contribute to its being very extensively useful. We subjoin an extract as a specimen of Mr. Pike's manner.

'If you would not abuse the grace of God to your own destruction; if you would not be the wilful murderer of your own soul; I beseech you embrace the gospel. How hard you would think it, if God had decreed your everlasting misery, and irrevocably shut you out of heaven! and now, when he offers you life and salvation, would you shut out yourself? Would you be so cruel a self-murderer, as to expose your own soul to the death that never dies? for that is the destruction which the soul incurs. You will, you must do this, if you do not turn to the Lord. Could some hardened creature ask you, to sign a declaration, that you hated religion; that you determined to have nothing to do with God or the Redeemer; that as for heaven they were welcome to it, who thought it worth their care; and as for hell you cared nought for it;—Could you be asked to sign such a declaration, would not you start back with horror at the proposal of doing so? Or had some one the power of offering you the whole world, and of saying, "I will give you all the happiness of this world, all its wealth, and all its honours, if you will give up all hope of heaven; and now consent to be shut out for ever; if you will engage, when you die, willingly to sink down into everlasting wretchedness; and to dwell with the devil and his angels through all eternity:" would you not tremble at the very thought of accepting such an offer? and of being your own wilful destroyer? O then do not do in reality, what you would not do by such an agreement! Most persons lose their souls as completely as if they bargained for the loss. He who lives careless of Religion, says, by his conduct, I choose hell for my portion and Satan for my master. It comes to the same at last, whether you profess that you hate religion, or live careless of the blessed Son of God. To despise serious religion would sink you to hell, and thus make you the murderer of your own soul; and to live without embracing humble piety, and obeying the gospel, will do the same: and where, in the end, is the difference?" pp. 248, 249.

Art. IX. *The Scripture Testimony to the Messiah: an Inquiry with a View to a satisfactory Determination of the Doctrine taught in the Holy Scriptures concerning the Person of Christ, including a careful Examination of the Rev. Thomas Belsham's Calm Inquiry, and of other Unitarian Works on the same Subject.* By John Pye Smith, D.D. In two Volumes. Vol. II. Parts 1 and 2. 8vo. pp. 810. Price 1l. London. 1821.

HOW much soever the existence of religious controversy may by many persons be regretted, neither the present necessity, nor the utility of it, can be reasonably denied. It must exist so long as differences shall be found to prevail with respect to doctrines which are considered as essential articles of faith. On points less important than these, and particularly on those points which neither affect the truth and importance of religion itself, nor are indispensable as means of its preservation, the charity that "beareth all things," may obtain from contending parties the surrender of their animosities, and unite them in the perfect relations of peace and mutual good-will. But the higher interests do not admit of compromise; and therefore the controversies which have reference to them, must continue till there be an abandonment of false principles, and a cordial admission of true ones, from the correct perception of their several qualities. The unity of the faith visibly displayed in a *oneness* of sentiment, is, indeed, an object most worthy of the hopes and prayers of Christians; but it can be anticipated only as the result of controversy, which, though not the agent, is yet the means of detecting and exposing error, and of establishing and diffusing truth.

If controversy, however, be necessary, it is equally necessary that it should be conducted in such a manner, and by such methods, as shall tend to accomplish the purposes for which alone it ought to be prosecuted. It is the manner in which religious controversy has been carried on, that constitutes the greatest offence connected with its history. The differences which have been the matter of debate, have but too frequently been treated as if their own personal interests, rather than the interests of truth, were in the view of the controvertists. Faults by which the timid have been repelled from inquiry, and which have served to fix the prejudices by which error is protected, are to a grievous extent chargeable on many theological disputants, whose unhallowed passions have given to the contest for truth, the character of an unlawful warfare. A controvertist should not only satisfy us as to his integrity, but he should also endeavour to win our confidence, by adopting such a method of displaying his arguments as may invite and conciliate the regard of those whom we would enlighten or persuade. Reasoning may

be strong ; it may be unanswerable ; but it can be efficient only when it is morally as well as logically correct.

It were easy to refer to works of celebrity, in proof that the discussion of principles has not always been identical with the search after truth. Other objects have been uppermost in the Writer's mind : the support of a church, or the defence of a creed, has been the first consideration ; the assertion and vindication of truth being confined to just so much of its principles as might happen to be mixed up with the profession of the Writer, or with the formularies and interests to which he had given his pledge. The opponents against whom such polemics enter the field, are resisted, not altogether as the abettors of error, but as adversaries whose attack is considered as endangering the prosperity or the existence of profitable secularities. In such a contest, the use of invective is as well understood as the employment of analysis and syllogism. The "disputer of this world" has not always been separate in person or distinguishable in manner, from the professed advocate of Christian doctrine.

But while we are justified in regarding with distrust a controversialist of this equivocal character, that Writer is entitled to no ordinary degree of honourable estimation who furnishes the means of searching after truth in the temper which accords with its sanctity, which tends to cherish our love of it, and to confirm our sense of its supreme importance. Such a writer is the Author of these volumes.

In resuming our examination of Dr. Smith's "Scripture Testimony to the Messiah," the concluding portions of which are now before us, we are gratified to notice the abundant evidence which they contain of the correct feeling of the Author. He has furnished an admirable specimen of the manner in which a great argument should be prosecuted. A more temperate publication, one more free from every species of moral blemish, we do not remember ever to have seen. It owes nothing to the artifices of controversy ; it is faithful in representing the opinions which it brings to trial ; it is sound in quotation ; it is mild, patient, and equitable in its investigations ; and is altogether written in the style of a sober and cautious inquirer. The work is of considerable magnitude, and is highly honourable to the Author's reputation, not only for the ability with which it has been composed, but also for the devout and amiable spirit which pervades it.

In the former volume, the qualifications requisite for an undertaking of this kind, in which the determination of the sense of Scripture, in some of its most important bearings, is the business of the inquirer,—areably and correctly stated by Dr. Smith ; the moral requisites in particular, are displayed in a very impressive manner ; and ample proof will be collected by every reader of the

'Scripture Testimony,' that the Author has been careful to support the steady application of his own rules.

The present portions of the work include the evidence furnished by the several Books of the New Testament respecting the person of the Messiah. The proof passages on which the statements and arguments of the Author rest, are not considered exactly in the order in which they occur in the sacred writings, nor are the materials arranged precisely according to a distribution of subjects. Dr. Smith pursues 'the lines of evidence as they are presented by the opening and the gradual progress of the New Testament dispensation; commencing with the declarations and admissions of Jesus Christ concerning himself, and proceeding through an extensive induction of particulars under this division of the subject, to the testimonies of the Apostles, whose writings he properly considers as augmenting and completing the evidences of the Christian doctrine. The order of the book is sufficiently exact, the discussion is regular and connected, the arguments being never loaded with extraneous remarks, and the entire work is adapted to be eminently useful.

The first chapter of the third Book, which is the commencement of the portion of the work now before us, is occupied with remarks on the narrative of the Miraculous Conception. It is brought under consideration for the purpose of exposing the confident assertions of the Author of the *Calm Inquiry* against the consistence and authority of the initial chapters of the two Evangelists, Matthew and Luke, rather than an account of any direct argument afforded by it towards the determination of the question relative to the person of Christ. Those assertions, bold and unsubstantial as they are, it was, indeed, impossible for any Writer furnishing a critical notice of Mr. Belsham's work to pass over. It may be true, that 'the miraculous birth of Christ is regarded by many as a considerable presumptive evidence of his pre-existence;' and therefore we do not quarrel with the *Calm Inquirer* for placing at the head of his enumeration of supposed arguments in favour of the doctrines which he impugns, this particular example, notwithstanding we may regard it as the weakest that could well be conceived; but, remarks Dr. Smith,

'It is quite sufficient to set aside this alleged argument, to remind those, if such there be, who are disposed to advance it, that Unitarians generally, till Dr. Priestley, accorded with the universal belief of Christians on this head. Dr. Lardner, a professed Socinian, has largely vindicated the authenticity of the disputed portions of the Gospels of Matthew and Luke, against exceptions and difficulties: and in the days of modern Unitarians, Mr. Gilbert Wakefield, emphatically and designedly, describes the Gospel of Matthew, as "delivering the history of a Covenant between God and the human race,

promulgated and ratified by a man born out of the common course of generation.

‘ On the other hand, if a much greater force belonged to the arguments by which the Calm Inquirer and others are endeavouring to establish the spuriousness of the initial portions of Matthew and Luke, and if the evidence were satisfactory to the rejection of those portions, I do not see that the doctrine of the Divine Nature in the person of Christ would be affected by it; any farther than as a few passages, which have furnished some arguments in favour of the doctrine, would be no longer proper to be adduced. Had it pleased God so to ordain, the sinless purity of our Lord’s humanity might have been as certainly provided for by a miraculous intervention, on the supposition of its being produced in the ordinary way of nature, as on the generally received, and, in my opinion, true and scriptural view of this subject. But, besides the divine ordination, other reasons are not wanting to shew the *superior propriety* and *CONDIGNITY* of this mode of miraculous formation.’ pp. 5—6.

The fair and full consideration of the claims to authenticity, of the two first chapters of Matthew’s Gospel, is by no means prejudiced by a belief in the Miraculous Conception, inasmuch as that fact is established on the authority of Luke’s Gospel, which is not affected by any of the objections urged against that of Matthew. But the manner in which the Calm Inquirer has treated this subject, is any thing but fair; the mode in which he has disposed of the question, is any thing but satisfactory. We expect from a biblical critic expressions of hesitancy, such as the difficulties of chronological comparison or interpretation may justify; but we are not acquainted with any principles of criticism from which a justification could be furnished for averments so bold, and decisions so rash as those which we find in the pages of the Calm Inquiry, and in the notes of the Improved Version on the case before us. The assertion, that ‘ from the testimonies of Epiphanius and Jerome we are assured that they (the first two Chapters of Matthew’s Gospel) were wanting in the copies used by the Nazarenes and Ebionites,’ is unsupported by proof, to say the least, as it respects the former of these ancient Fathers, and is directly at variance with evidence as it regards the latter. The Nazarene Gospel is clearly proved on Jerome’s testimony, *not* to have been thus defective; and it would be using the testimony of Epiphanius for a purpose to which it is not indisputably available, to adduce it as evidence that the Gospel of the Nazarenes really wanted the disputed passages: the presumption, on the evidence supplied by this Father, is rather in favour of its containing them. The Calm Inquirer should have limited his remarks to the description of the Ebionite Gospel, given by Epiphanius, who states that it wanted the two chapters in question, but whose account of it is fatal to the argument which rests on the autho-

rity of that questionable and almost unknown document. The following statement is alike flippant and daring :—‘ From Luke iii. 1. compared with verse 23d, it appears that Jesus was born fifteen years before the death of Augustus, that is, at least two years after the death of Herod : a fact which completely *falsifies* the whole narrative contained in the preliminary chapters of Matthew and Luke.’ Yes, *falsifies*; that is the word, the proper and only word, it seems, which the Calm Inquirer could select to express the result of the examination of the first three Chapters of Luke’s Gospel! Could any thing justify a style of assertion like this, but the possession of the clearest and most indubitable proof of the truth of the premises from which it is made to follow as a conclusion. What, then, is the fact? Truly and simply, this; that the introductory chapters of Luke’s Gospel are in perfect accordance with each other. Let Luke iii. 1, be compared with verse 23d, and let the result of the comparison be placed by the side of the chapters i. and ii, and it will be at once manifest, that the narrative of the Miraculous Conception, as given by Luke, instead of being *falsified* by the alleged fact of Herod’s death, is unimpeachably consistent with all the circumstances recorded by that Evangelist. Were it, therefore, conceded to Mr. Belsham, as a thing proved, that the disputed chapters in Matthew’s Gospel were originally wanting, and are in fact a subsequent and unauthorised addition, the Miraculous Conception would still be a credible fact, and the narrative of it a genuine part of the New Testament. Far from considering the remarks of Dr. Smith on this subject as unnecessarily introduced into the discussion, we could even have received with pleasure a more copious dissertation on the question, had his limits so allowed. When passages are attempted to be struck out from the Gospels on pretences so flimsy, and presumptions so baseless, it is neither the last nor the least important duty of a sound critic, to resist the violent innovations of writers who make demands on our faith, not only apart from reasonable evidence, but in the very face of it. If we will believe another biblical interpreter who has pointed his pen against the narrative contained in the opening chapters of Matthew’s and Luke’s Gospels, the Miraculous Conception is distinctly the object of reprobation in the expressions of the Apostle Peter, “ We have not followed cunningly devised fables.” How utterly at variance are such bold and licentious assertions with devout feeling, or with the honest purpose of writing for the instruction of mankind!

It is well known, that, in the Unitarian Controversy, the supposed silence of the Evangelists, or the assumed want of direct evidence from the Gospels, on the principal points which

it involves, is urged by one of the parties in support of the negative side of the question ; and it is quite obvious to the most superficial reader of the New Testament, that the exhibition of its most important doctrines, is more frequent in the later, than in the earlier part of its records. But, if the several portions of the New Testament be sustained by the same authority, it is a question of comparatively small moment, from which of its divisions the doctrines of Christian belief are derived. The only question is whether, or not, they form a part of its communications. There may be satisfactory reasons applying equally to the less definite and less ample revelations, and to those which are more explicit and copious. The remarks of Dr. Smith on this subject, are, brief, but excellent, and worthy of the most careful study.

‘ It entered into the scheme of divine wisdom that, when the Messiah was actually sojourning among men, and was pursuing the objects of his mission, his person, his offices, his doctrines, and all the characteristics of his dispensation, should be unfolded gradually and slowly. He himself lay in deep obscurity during all but a very short period of his life. After he had begun his public labours, it was long before he unreservedly and openly declared himself to be the Messiah. Till towards the end of his course he rarely made this avowal but in private, and to those who were his friends and tried adherents : and on several occasions, he prohibited them from publishing the fact to the world. Such a plan of studied reserve and slow developement would not have been chosen or approved by human wisdom : but, whether we can penetrate the reasons for it or not, the fact itself is indisputable, that this was the course adopted by the Founder of our Faith. He seems to have deemed this the proper course to be taken ;—to awaken the attention of men, to stimulate their expectations, to present them with circumstances, hints, and implications, and thus to furnish a growing body of *data*, from which they for themselves might draw the most important conclusions with increasing light and certainty.

‘ Besides this, it is to be observed, that the Lord Jesus professedly withheld the full manifestation of his doctrines till the period subsequent to his death and resurrection, when the instruments of communication were to be his inspired messengers. The evangelists repeatedly observe that our Lord’s most intimate disciples “ understood not those things, and the word was hidden from them, and they knew not the things spoken,” by him. He assured them that, though they were not then competent to receive many important things concerning HIMSELF, they should subsequently become so, and should be led by an unerring Guide into a perfect knowledge of those truths.

‘ Duly considering these features of the early Christian economy, we shall not expect to find a full declaration of the doctrine respecting our Lord’s person, in the narratives of the Evangelists, or in his own discourses ; but we shall rather look for *intimations*, for principles *implied* in facts and assertions, and for *conclusions* from such facts and

assertions deduced by minute attention and close examination on our own part. Such attention and examination are a part of that "obedience of faith," which is the indispensable duty of every man who has, or can obtain, a knowledge of the inspired volume. pp. 42—45.

But, while the comparative incompleteness of the narratives of the Evangelists and the discourses of our Lord himself are thus admitted by the Author, he maintains the sufficiency of the evidence derived from these very sources, in proof that the doctrines for which he is an advocate, were really exhibited during the personal ministry of Christ, and had a place in the communications made by him to his disciples. The perusal of the "Scripture Testimony" will satisfy a candid inquirer that that species of evidence is neither scanty nor feeble.

The title SON OF GOD, so frequently given to and assumed by our Lord, has received various interpretations from different classes of expositors, some of whom would limit it to the meaning of the term Messiah, while others represent it as expressive of a superior and Divine nature belonging to the subject of this emphatic designation. Dr. Smith agrees in sentiment with the latter, and forcibly urges in support of the higher application of the words, the following considerations :

' 1. The title, *Son of God*, was recognized by Jesus himself, by his friends and followers, by his enemies, and by the Jewish nation at large, as a designation of the Messiah. This acceptance seems to have been universally known and indisputably held. It must, therefore, have had a satisfactory and authoritative origin; or it could not have been so received and established. Such an origin is most naturally to be sought in the Prophetic Scriptures. No where else could an authority be found to which the whole Jewish nation would bow, and to which it would, at the same time, be congruous for the Divine Majesty itself to conform. This title we have already found among the prophetic descriptions of the Messiah, and we have seen that it was recognized in the Jewish theology of the period intermediate between the Old and the New Testament.

' 2. Though it be undoubtedly an appropriated appellation of the Messiah, it is not a mere synonym of that word. Many respectable writers have fallen into this inaccuracy. Two or more terms may be generally, or even with an exclusive uniformity, applied to the same object, and yet be respectively of very different import. Christ is called Lord, Mediator, Saviour, Prince of Life, Captain of Salvation, King of Kings: but it would betray great ignorance or rashness to say, that these were *synonymous* expressions. The term *Messiah* designates a person divinely appointed and consecrated to one or more of the offices of a king, a priest, or a prophet. The other term, unless it be taken in a sense wholly figurative, is manifestly expressive of the *nature* of the being to whom it is applied, and of a *natural relationship* to another.

' 3. It becomes, therefore, important for us to ascertain whether this

epithet be given to Christ, in one of its figurative meanings stated above, or in a strict and proper sense. Now, if the former were the fact, if the Messiah were styled *the Son of God* merely as an expression of his royal dignity, or pre-eminent sanctity, or prophetic mission, how could we conceive that his claiming this appellation, or his admitting, on the interrogation of an enemy, that it belonged to him, could be made the ground of a charge of *blasphemy*?

pp. 49—51.

The crime of blasphemy is shewn to be 'the saying or doing any thing by which the majesty of God is insulted, uttering curses or reproaches against God, speaking impiously, arrogating and taking to one's self that which belongs to God.'

'This was the crime, which Caiaphas and the Sanhedrim affirmed that Jesus had in very fact committed in their presence, and for which they instantly passed judgment of death. Let it be observed that, according to the hypothesis of the Unitarians, Jesus in admitting that he was the Messiah, claimed nothing above the rank and functions of a human being, nothing beyond an office, august indeed and venerable, but which every Jew believed would be executed by a mere man. To those who rejected his claim, he might have appeared chargeable with fanaticism, imposture, or even constructive treason; but where was the colourable pretext for the charge of *blasphemy*, a crime so closely defined by the original law, and the limits of which were so anxiously fixed by the tradition which had all the force of law? Let it also be observed that the apparent reason of the charge was so clear as to admit of no demur or hesitation. Had the High-priest and the Sanhedrim been proceeding upon grounds which they were conscious were notoriously false; had they applied the law of blasphemy to a case in which it was manifest that not the semblance of that offence had been committed; it is credible that they would have adopted some circuitous course for the accomplishment of their purpose. But they did no such thing: they found their way plain before them. If, however, we were to concede to Dr. Campbell, that the Sanhedrim imputed this crime to Jesus dishonestly upon their own principles, it will only follow that they gave a wrong name to their charge. The allegation was, that he had, by claiming to be the Son of God, arrogated to himself divine honours; and this as a fact, remains the same, whether it was designated rightly or not by the term *blasphemy*.

'It is not unworthy of remark, that Josephus mentions various instances of impostors who rose up about the time of the siege of Jerusalem, calling themselves prophets, announcing to their adherents a speedy deliverance by divine interposition from their calamities, and "promising to shew signs and præternatural appearances" for that purpose. From comparing our Lord's prediction with these facts, it appears probable that some of those persons gave out themselves to be the Messiah. But, though the historian paints in strong colours their falsehood and their other atrocities, he never, so far as I can discover, charges them with *blasphemy*.

'It seems, therefore, impossible for us to escape the conclusion,

that the avowal of Jesus to be THE SON OF GOD was understood, by the highest legal and ecclesiastical authorities of his country, to involve the assertion of something belonging to his person, super-human and DIVINE; or to be a constructive assumption of such dignity as belongs only to God.

That such ideas of dignity and powers, above what belong to the rank of man, were attached to this epithet by the Jewish people at large, is at least a probable inference from the taunting language which they held to our Lord in his last sufferings: "If thou art the Son of God, come down from the cross." pp. 53—55.

This argument, the Author has not extended beyond the limits necessary for presenting it intelligibly to his readers.

It is a point of great moment in this controversy, and one which, independent of other arguments, we cannot but regard as going far towards the determination of it against the Unitarian hypothesis, that the phraseology of the New Testament is so entirely remote from that which the necessities of Unitarian writers require, and which their option would lead them to employ in the representation of the facts and doctrines which they comprise in their system. On the admission of the Divine nature of Christ, the exclusive propriety of expressions by which he is described, and which in so many instances he uses in reference to himself, absolutely depends: their application in that case justifies their use. But, were there in the person of our Lord nothing super-human, how could we account for it, that a phraseology should be employed, to which there is no approximation in the example of any inspired and consecrated messenger from God to men; a phraseology which, we feel conscious as we have it brought under our notice, does not suit the feelings of the most highly gifted of a race of creatures, to whom reverence and humility are essential qualities in respect to God? The appeal in the concluding sentence of the 6th Sect. of Chap. 3. Book iii. on the peculiarity of the oneness of Christ with the Father, affords a striking specimen.

Jesus Christ constantly speaks of himself as being, not an instrument only, but the AGENT, in works of miraculous power: and it is remarkable that, while the apostles manifested a studious anxiety to avoid using language that could be construed into any representation of themselves above that of a powerless instrumentality, they ascribed the final agency to Christ as readily as to God the Father. The "signs and wonders" which sanctioned the ministry of Paul, and of which the number and variety were so great, that his modesty refused to speak of them, beyond a slight and necessary allusion, he definitely attributes to CHRIST as their AUTHOR: "Christ wrought them through me." Here, therefore, are reasons for understanding our Lord's words as asserting *for himself* a power of divine agency, and consequently the possession of divine perfections, "I do the works

of my Father,—that ye may know and be assured that in me is the Father, and I in him."

'Let the experiment in imagination be made of putting these words into the mouth of an apostle. Let Peter, John, or Paul say, "I and God are one: I do the works of God; God is in me, and I in him." Every one feels that the supposition is, not monstrous only, but intolerable. Yet, on Unitarian principles, (which affirm that these phrases are "applicable to believers in general," without any investigation of the grounds and the diversity of application,) we ought to feel no difficulty in making the supposition. The assumption of such language by any inspired man, must be, not barely allowable, not merely capable of being palliated, but strictly and unequivocally in character with piety, humility, meekness, and lowliness of heart.—Unitarianism requires me to believe this!' pp. 93—95.

The import of the expressions "descending from heaven," "ascending to heaven," "coming from above," and some other phrases of similar construction, are made the subjects of examination, pp. 102—140. In the Author's judgement, the sacred writers, in using the phrase *ascending into heaven*, evidently conceived of a real penetration into the regions of celestial light and happiness, in order to the acquisition of the knowledge which is peculiar to the Divine Being; and the expression as employed by Jesus, John iii. 13. he considers as simply stating the fact, that no human being ever had so ascended. If the Unitarian explanation of the phrase *to ascend into heaven*, viz. 'No one is instructed in the Divine counsels,'—be adopted, the expression would seem very inadequate to the occasion, since the being instructed in the Divine counsels was not peculiar to Christ, and he could not therefore be the only person who had ascended into heaven. If it be said, that no inspired teacher was ever so completely furnished with the knowledge of the counsels of heaven as was Jesus, it is sufficient to reply, that it is neither the degree of knowledge, nor the extent to which it may be communicated to a teacher bearing immediately a Divine commission, that is in question, but the special and exclusive fact itself. If the phrase, then, be understood as importing simply receiving a commission from God, or being Divinely instructed, it would seem that others beside Jesus had ascended into heaven, contrary to his own assertion.

The important passage, John viii. 58, receives particular attention from the Author in pp. 163—192. The assertion made by our Lord: "Before Abraham existed, I am,"—is shewn to be a declaration of an existence prior to the being of the Hebrew patriarch. The signification of the terms and their just construction are clearly made out, as not admitting of any other sense than that of pre-existence. The Unitarian objections are examined and answered; are shewn to be utterly destitute of

satisfactory proof; contrary to the reason of the occasion,—to the circumstances of the narrative,—and to our Lord's ordinary course of proceeding;—attended with other difficulties;—inconsistent with the Scripture idiom;—inefficient for its purpose;—not only unsupported, but contradicted by the phraseology of the prophets; and productive of a nugatory sense. This entire section is a very fine specimen of cool, efficient criticism: it is too long for an extract, and too compact to admit of its being divided, but we shall endeavour to make room for the concluding part of the reply to the Calm Inquirer.

' Yet, should we grant him his desire, and consent to his rendering, "Before Abraham was born, I was the Messiah:" what does he gain? Could any reader or hearer, not pre-occupied by hypothesis, imagine otherwise than that the person speaking thus certainly existed when Abraham was born? And do not the words as thus amplified, plainly express that he had such existence?—Conscious of this, the Calm Inquirer brings out his last and palmary argument:

' "In the language of the sacred writers, a being, or a state of things, is said to EXIST, when it is the ETERNAL IMMUTABLE PURPOSE OF GOD THAT IT SHALL EXIST, at the time and in the circumstances which his infinite wisdom hath chosen and ordained."

' This notion, therefore, is the sheet-anchor of the Unitarian interpretation. We have in a preceding Section, examined it and the pleadings in its favour; and, I trust, have satisfactorily shewn that it is weak and incompetent, proceeding upon a mistaken view of scripture-language, and quite inapplicable to the purpose of those who use it. By an egregious kind of blunder, they gravely bring forward the *prolepsis* of the prophetic style, as if it made for their case: whereas that which they want is a figure of the *opposite* effect, a *metalepsis*. Because, in the language of prophecy, *future* persons and events are described as if they were present, or had actually taken place; it is sagaciously inferred that a present person or event may, by the same figure, be said to have existed in long *past* time!

' Flushed with this captivating logic, the Calm Inquirer proceeds to argue: "If the prophets describe the Messiah as contemporary with them, Christ might with propriety speak of himself under that character as their contemporary. If Isaiah writes as having seen the Messiah, having heard his complaints, and having been witness to his labours, his miracles, and his sufferings; our Lord might with equal propriety represent himself under his official character, as having existed in the days of Isaiah. If Abraham saw his day; he, as the Messiah must have co-existed with the patriarch, and by parity of reason, before Abraham's birth. But all allow that the prophetic representations of the Messiah's existence are figurative; they only express what existed in the divine purpose, and imply nothing more than certainty of event. Let it then be granted, that when our Lord speaks of himself as the Messiah before Abraham was born, he means the same thing: that his language only implies that he was the Messiah in the divine purpose. No reasoning, I think, can be more conclusive."

* *Reply.* [1] The prophets did not "describe the Messiah as contemporary with" themselves. In their most vivid descriptions, though to increase the poetic force and beauty of the representation the present or perfect tense be employed, enough exists of marked circumstances to have prevented any from imagining that the prophets designed to exhibit any mortal contemporary as the Sovereign and Saviour to whom they bore testimony. There is no evidence that any of the Jews ever understood their prophets as representing the Messiah to be their own contemporary: but there is all the proof which the nature of the case admits of, that both the prophets themselves, and their countrymen through successive generations, looked forwards to ONE who was yet TO COME, as the ultimate object of those sublime and picturesque representations. Let the reader examine the instances selected by the Inquirer as the basis of his theory, or any other prophetic descriptions of the Messiah; and he will find either in the very phraseology of the context or in the association of the parts of the description, sufficient to designate that the persons introduced and the events depicted were as yet in the womb of futurity.

* [2] The frequent use of the *hypotyposis* combined with *enallage* of the tense (rather than, as the Calm Inquirer calls it, *prolepsis*,) in the works of the ancient prophets, was not the result of a sacred or theological principle, but of the character of their composition. It was not as prophets, but as poets, that they employed this figure of speech, so suitable to their energetic conceptions, and which is indeed all but essential to the very soul of poetry. But the style which was eminently proper for poetry, or for sublime description in oratory, would have been out of place, ridiculous, and even pernicious, in a plain, calm, grave conversation. Cyrus, John the Baptist, and probably other individuals, were graphically pointed out in the prophecies of Isaiah, long before they were born; and that by expressions in the past or present tense. Would it, then, have been proper for either of them, to have said, "I was contemporary with the prophet: I co-existed with him, for he in prophetic vision saw my day, and described me, my actions, my character, my office, as if I were then actually existing and executing my commission: yea, by parity of reason, I may say that I existed before the prophet's birth: before Isaiah was, I was: I was the deliverer of the captives, I was the messenger of heaven."—Yet such low trifling, such absolute folly, is, by these interpreters, to help their theory out of a fatal difficulty, calmly attributed to the Lowly, Wise, and Holy Jesus!

* [3] If it were conceded that the existence which our Lord attributes to himself, was an existence only in the divine purpose, justice of criticism would require us likewise to take the existence ascribed to Abraham in the same acceptation: "Before Abraham existed in the purpose of God, I was the Messiah in the same purpose and decree." The use of the two verbs *γινώσκει* and *ἔστιν* does not destroy the ground of this observation: for the difference between them is, that the one denotes *to be brought into existence*, and the other *to be in existence*; a difference not at all affecting the argument.

Thus it appears that, to concede the principle of the Unitarian interpretation, would convert the passage into a puerile absurdity.

'On the Calm Inquirer's closing remark, "No reasoning, I think, can be more conclusive:" I hope it will not be deemed a want of courtesy in me to ask the candid and attentive reader, whether justice does not require that it should be read by a certain figure called *antiphrasis*, "No reasoning can be more *inconclusive*."

'The Inquirer has bestowed great labour upon his disquisition on this text, "because," he observes, "it is in a great measure decisive of the whole controversy: for, if this declaration does not establish the pre-existence of Christ, no other passage can." It may, then, be taken as admitted that, if the interpretation for which he so earnestly pleads cannot be maintained on grounds of fair and sound criticism, the pre-existence of Christ is established, and the Unitarian scheme is exploded. The serious and candid reader will bring to the examination his closest attention, his critical attainments, his strict impartiality, and his solemn devotion. Thus let him judge for himself in the sight of God: and may that Gracious Being direct his decision!

'But if the assertion be taken conversely, to intimate that, if this text were given up to the Unitarian interpretation, the controversy would be decided, I must protest against it, as uncandid and untrue, as one of those bold, but gratuitous and unfounded *dicta* which too frequently appear in the pages of the Calm Inquiry. Admit the supposition, and what would be the effect? This particular passage would be taken out of the field; it would make nothing in favour of the pre-existence of Christ: but it would make nothing against it. The principle of the interpretation might also go to the neutralizing of some other declarations of our Lord; but this would be all. The general body of argument, from many particular passages and from the universal tenor of revelation, in favour of the pre-existence and the Deity of Christ would remain untouched, and standing in its full independence. Yet unfair, both logically and morally, as the Inquirer's observation is, it will not be without its effect. Such dogmatical assertions often pass without examination, and are apt to sink deeply into weak and half-thinking minds.

'In one sense, however, I will not contest that there may be truth in the assertion: "if this declaration does not establish the pre-existence of Christ, no other passage can." If the assertor thereby means that, *upon the principles of interpretation which he adopts*, no language within the compass of the characteristic style and manner of the New Testament could declare that doctrine so as not to be set aside by some of those manœuvrings; let him keep possession of his opinion. It is, I fear, too well founded. But let us consider whether, on the admission of those principles, we should not be obliged to abandon ourselves to a hopeless incapacity of ever acquiring satisfaction, upon any controverted point whatever of revealed theology, or of any other knowledge depending on the use of words.'

pp. 182—188.

(*To be Continued.*)

ART. X. SELECT LITERARY INFORMATION.

* *Gentlemen and Publishers who have works in the press, will oblige the Conductors of the ECLECTIC REVIEW, by sending information (post paid) of the subject, extent, and probable price of such works; which they may depend upon being communicated to the public, if consistent with its plan.*

In the press, and will be published this spring, an Account of the Interior of Ceylon and its Inhabitants, with Travels in that Island. By John Davy, M.D. F.R.S. in 4to. with a new and improved map, wood-cuts and engravings.—This work is composed entirely from original materials collected by the author during his residence in that island under very favourable circumstances for procuring correct information. The first part will embrace the physical condition of the country, and the political and moral state of its inhabitants, including its geography, geology, and climate, its population, government, religion, arts and sciences, history, &c. The second part will contain a narrative of the author's travels through a great extent of the interior, in which the features of the country will be described, and many of the above subjects further illustrated. The third and last part will relate to the medical history of Ceylon, and will comprehend an account of the effects of its climate on man, the diseases peculiar to it and the methods of prevention and cure by which they are most successfully combated.

Preparing for publication, Profile Portraits of distinguished living characters, at the accession of George the Fourth, drawn from life. By Robert Thomas. Accompanied by concise biographical notices.—The design of this work is to commemorate the accession of His present Majesty, by a series of portraits of distinguished individuals in church and state, in the army and navy, in the liberal professions, and in all the departments of science, art, and literature. To be published in monthly parts, each containing seven portraits.

The first volume of Sir Robert Ker Porter's Travels in Georgia, Persia, Armenia, Ancient Babylonia, &c. &c. will appear in a few days, in 4to. embellished with numerous engravings.

In the press, Bibliographia Sacra; or, an Introduction to the literary and ecclesiastical history of the sacred scrip-

tures, and the translations of them into different languages. By the Rev. James Townley, author of Biblical Anecdotes. In 3 vols. 8vo. with plates.

In the course of the ensuing month will be published, Observations on those diseases of females which are attended by discharges. By Charles Mansfield Clarke, member of the royal college of surgeons, and lecturer on midwifery in London. Royal 8vo. illustrated with plates. Part the second.—At the same time will be published, a new edition of Part I. Royal 8vo. with plates.

Mr. C. Bell's Illustrations of the great operations of Surgery, will be completed in a few days, by the publication of the fifth part.

Nearly ready for publication, a Treatise on Political Economy. By J. B. Say. Translated from the 4th edition of the original, by C. R. Prinsep, M.A. With notes by the Translator.

Speedily will be published, a new edition of Chefs-D'Œuvre of French Literature, consisting of interesting extracts from the classic French writers, in prose and verse; with biographical and critical remarks. Handsomely printed in 2 vols. 8vo. with portraits and vignettes, price 1l. 4s.

The fifth volume of the Personal Narrative of M. de Humboldt's Travels to the equinoctial regions of the new continent; during the years 1799-1804; translated by Helen Maria Williams, is now in the press.

The Rev. H. J. Todd, has nearly ready for publication, in 2 vols. 8vo. with a portrait, Memoirs of the Life of Bryan Walton, D.D. Bishop of Chester, and editor of the London Biblia Polyglotta.

Shortly will be published, a Practical Treatise on the Hydrocephalus Acutus (or water inflammatory in the head). By Leopold Anthony Golis, physician and director of the institution for the sick children of the poor in Vienna. Translated from the German, by Robert Good, M.D. 8vo.

Dr. Reid has in the press, an enlarged

edition of his *Essays on Hypochondriasis and other Nervous Affections*.

In the press, and nearly ready for publication, a *Treatise on Indigestion and its consequences*, commonly called nervous and bilious complaints, with observations on the organic diseases in which they sometimes terminate. By A. P. W. Philip, M.D. &c.

Also in the press, *Observations on some of the general principles, and on the particular nature and treatment of the different species of Inflammation*. By I. H. James, surgeon to the Devon and Exeter Hospital, &c. &c.

Dr. Forbes of Penzance is preparing for publication, a Translation of M. Laccenne's late work on the pathology and diagnosis of diseases of the Chest.

In the press, a *Treatise on Acupuncture*, being a description of a surgical operation, originally peculiar to the Japanese and Chinese, and by them denominated Zin-King, and now introduced into European practice with cases, illustrating the success of the operation, and directions for its performance. By James Morss Churchill, member of the royal college of surgeons, and licentiate of the society of apothecaries.

The Rev. I. Leitch has a volume of *Sermons* in the press, to be entitled, "The Christian Temper: or Lectures on the Beatitudes."

Dr. Pritchard, physician to the Bristol Infirmary, has in the press, a *Treatise on the diseases of the nervous system*. Vol. I. comprising convulsive and maniacal affections.—The design of this work is to illustrate by numerous cases of Epilepsy, Mania Chorea, and the different forms of Paralysis, the connection between affections of this class, and a variety of disorders of the natural functions.

A new edition of Mr. Foster's *Essay on the evils of Popular Ignorance*, will be published in a few days.

Mr. Mill, author of the "*History of British India*," is about to publish, *Elements of the Science of Political Economy*.—The object of the Author in this work, is to present such a view of the evidence of the mutual connexion and dependence of the great doctrines of political economy, as must give a practical command over the principles of the science to those who are to a certain degree already acquainted with it, and also facilitate the progress of those who are as yet only entering upon this branch of knowledge.

A new work on *Steam Engines and Steam Boats*, by Mr. John Farey, jun. illustrated with numerous engravings by Lowry, is in a state of forwardness.

Mr. Southey will publish in the course of April, *The Expedition of Orgua*, and the *Crimes of Lope de Aguirre*.—Baron Humboldt, in his *Travels*, says, "The crimes and adventures of Lope de Aguirre, form one of the most dramatic episodes in the History of the Spanish conquests."

Preparing for publication, *Letters from Spain*: containing some account of the past and present condition of the Peninsula; details relative to the late revolution; observations on public characters, literature, manners, &c. By Edward Blaquiére, Esq. author of "*Letters from the Mediterranean*," &c.

A second edition of M. Lavaysse's *Work* (edited by Edward Blaquiére, Esq.) on *Venezuela, New Granada, Tobago, and Trinidad*, is also in the press.

A volume of *Original Poetry*, will speedily appear, in a handsome form, comprising, *Ismael, or the Arab, an Oriental Romance*; *Sketches of Scenery foreign and domestic*, with other poems. By the Author of the novel of "*Lochiel, or the Field of Culloden*."

Mr. Moffatt is preparing for the press, *Christina's Revenge, or the Fate of Monaldeschi*, with other poems.

In a few days will appear, the first Number of a work entitled *Physiognomical Portraits*; intended to consist of a new and interesting collection of portraits from undoubted originals, engraved in the line manner, by the most eminent British artists; to be accompanied with concise Biographical Notices in English and French.

A *Series of Views of our Ancient Castles*, from drawings by Messrs. Arnald, Blow, Fielding, and Gastineaux, is engraving by Mr. Woolnuth. They will be accompanied with historical and descriptive notices. By E. W. Brayley, jun.

A *Sailor's Hymn-Book*, will shortly be published, under the patronage of the British and Foreign Seamen's Friend Society and Bethel Union.—Should any persons be in possession of hymns adapted to such a publication, they will be received with thankfulness, if addressed, post paid, to the publisher, at Simpkin and Marshall's, Stationers-court, London.

In the press, the *Forgiveness of Sin*; a sermon preached at Tiverton, Devon, Jan. 17, 1821. By William Vowler.

Published at the request of the congregation.

In the press, in one volume 8vo., Correlative Claims and Duties; or, an Essay on the necessity of a Church Establishment, and the means of exciting and maintaining among its members a spirit of devotion. To which the Society for promoting Christian Knowledge and Church Union in the Diocese of St. David's, adjudged a premium of £50. in December 1820. By the Rev. Samuel Charles Wilks, A.M. author of "Christian Essays," "The St. David's Prize Essay for 1811 on the Clerical Character," &c. &c.

The Rev. T. F. Dibdin will publish next month, in three royal 8vo. volumes, a Bibliographical, Antiquarian, and Picturesque Tour in France and Germany.

Professor Lee is preparing for the press, the late Mr. Martyn's Controversy with the Learned of Persia, on the sophisms of Mohammedanism.—It will be published both in Persian and English.

Sir Arthur Clark is preparing for the press, a Treatise on the Sulphureous Fumigation in Diseases of the Skin.

Mr. Adam, near Aberdeen, will soon publish, Hero and Leander, translated from the ancient Greek poet Musæus, with other Poems.

The Supplement to the Iliad, in fourteen books, by Quintus Smyrnaeus, translated from the Greek by Mr. A. Dyce, with notes, and a preface, will soon appear.

Sir Humphry Davy has in the press, a third edition, in 8vo. of the Elements of Agricultural Chemistry.

ART. XI. LIST OF WORKS RECENTLY PUBLISHED.

ANTIQUITIES.

Index Monasticus; or the abbeys and other monasteries, alien priories, priories, friaries, colleges, collegiate churches, and hospitals, with their dependencies, formerly established in the diocese of Norwich and the ancient kingdom of East Anglia, systematically arranged and briefly described, according to the respective orders and denominations in each county, and illustrated by maps of Suffolk, Norfolk, and the city of Norwich, and the arms of religious houses. By Richard Taylor, of Norwich. Folio, 3l. 3s.; large paper, 5l. 5s.

ASTRONOMY.

The Wonders of the Heavens, displayed in twenty popular lectures on astronomy, with 46 superior engravings from original drawings. By the Author of the "Wonders of the World." 12mo. 10s. 6d. in red, or on royal paper, 15s. boards.

BIOGRAPHY.

Memoirs of the Life and Writings of the Rt. Rev. Brian Walton, D.D. Lord Bishop of Chester, Editor of the London Polyglot Bible. With notices of his coadjutors in that illustrious work; of the cultivation of oriental learning in this country, preceding and during their time; and of the authorized English version of the Bible, to a projected revision of which Dr. Walton and some of his assistants in the Polyglot, were appointed. To which is added, Dr. Wal-

ton's own Vindication of the London Polyglot. By the Rev. Henry John Todd, M.A. F.S.A. Chaplain in Ordinary to his Majesty, and Rector of Settrington, county of York. 2 vols. 8vo. 1l. 1s.

Memoirs of the Life of Anne Boleyn, Queen of Henry VIII. By Miss Benger. 2 vols. small 8vo. 16s.

Memoirs of the Rev. Mark Wilks, late of Norwich. By Sarah Wilks. With a portrait. 12mo. 7s.

Select Female Biography; comprising Memoirs of eminent British Ladies, derived from original and other authentic sources. 12mo. 6s. 6d.

BOTANY.

A Grammar of Botany, illustrative of artificial, as well as natural classification, with an explanation of Jussieu's system. By Sir J. E. Smith, M.D. F.R.S. &c. President of the Linnean Society. Illustrated by 21 plates, containing 277 figures of plants, beside many of their various parts and organs. 8vo. 12s.; and with coloured impressions, 1l. 11s. 6d.

EDUCATION.

Il Bagatello; intended to facilitate the study of the Italian language to young beginners. By E. Reale. 12mo. 3s.

A Key to the Second and Third Parts of Ellis's Collection of Exercises, from the writings of Cicero, with References to the passages in the original. 12mo. 3s. bound.

MISCELLANEOUS.

The Religions and Religious Ceremonies of all Nations,—Christians, Mahomedans, Jews, Gentoos, and Pagans; with 100 engravings. 12mo. 10s. 6d. in red, or on royal paper. 15s. boards.

The Tears of Jerusalem; or, some remarks on the dilapidated state of many of our country churches. By a Graduate of Baliol College, Oxford. 12mo. 6d.

Emancipation: a dialogue. By Thomas Kelly, Dublin. 12mo. 9d.

The Annals of Oriental Literature; 8vo. Part I. II. and III. containing: 1. An Account of Asam, and the neighbouring territories: by Francis Hamilton, M.D. F.R.S. &c.—An Analytical Comparison of the Sanscrit, Greek, Latin, and Teutonic Languages; shewing their original identity: by P. Bopp.—3. A Translation of the Mahabharata, a Sanscrit Epic Poem.—4. A Translation of the Geography of Idrisi.—5. A Translation of the Shah Nama of Firdausi.—6. Translations (original) from the Chinese.—7. A Translation of a Cinghalese History of Ceylon, from the most ancient times to the invasion of the island by the Portuguese.—8. Persian Account of the Foundation of the Temple of Jupiter Ammon.—9. Specimen of a Mandchu Chinese Dictionary.—10. Original Vocabularies of Languages of the Interior of Africa; and a variety of curious information on Oriental Subjects. 6s. each part.

NATURAL HISTORY.

Illustrations of British Ornithology. Series First.—Land Birds. By P. J. Selby, Esq. of Twizell-house, County of Northumberland, Member of the Wernerian Natural History Society of Edinburgh, &c. folio. No. I. II. 11s. 6d. coloured 5l. 5s.

POETRY.

Metrical Legends of Exalted Characters. By Mrs. Joanna Baillie. 8vo. 14s.

Scripture Melodies. By a Clergyman. fcap. 8vo. 5s.

The Last Days of Herculaneum, and Abradates and Panthea, Poems. By Edwin Atherstone, fcap. 8vo. 5s.

Poems. By P. M. James, fcap. 8vo. 7s.

Hymns for Villages, chiefly on Rural Subjects. By the Rev. T. Beck. 1s.

Familiar Odes and Epistles: for the instruction of the young. By the Father of a Family. 3s. half-bound.

POLITICAL ECONOMY.

An Appeal to the Legislature and the Public, on the Tendency of Mr. Brougham's Bill for the Education of the Poor. By I. B. Brown, Esq. LL.D. &c. of the Inner Temple. 8vo. 3s. 6d.

Letters to Mr. Malthus on several Subjects of Political Economy, and particularly on the cause of the general stagnation of commerce: to which is added, a catechism of Political Economy; or, familiar conversations on the manner in which wealth is produced, distributed, and consumed in society. Translated from the French of J. B. Say. By John Richter, Esq. 8vo. 9s.

An Inquiry into the Principles and Management of Friendly Societies in Scotland, with a view to their extension and improvement. Dedicated (by permission) to the Highland Society. 8vo. 1s.

The Christian and Civic Economy of Large Towns. By Thomas Chalmers, D.D. No. VII. On Church Offices. 1s.

Observations on the Restrictive and Prohibitory Commercial System; especially with a reference to the Decree of the Spanish Cortes of July 1820. From the MSS. of Jeremiah Bentham, Esq. By John Bowring. 8vo. 2s.

THEOLOGY.

A Course of Sermons for the Festivals and Fasts of the Church of England. By Joseph Holden Pott, A.M. Archdeacon of London, and Vicar of St. Martin in the Fields. 8vo. 12s.

A Discourse on the comparative Advantages of prescribed Forms and of free Prayer in public worship. Delivered at a Monthly Association of Protestant Dissenting Ministers. By John Pye Smith, D.D. 1s. 6d.

No. I. and II. of a New Series of Religious Tracts. By the Authors of Little Henry and his Bearer, Margaret Whyte, &c. &c.

The Voice of a Departed Teacher to Sunday Schools. 9d.

Jesus the Child's Best Teacher; or the way to obtain true wisdom and happiness. By Anna Kent, Author of York House, &c. &c. 4d.

Prayers for Little Children. By Anna Kent. 2d.

Grace, Grace unto it; or a wedding and its consequences. By W. Milford. 1d. or 7s. per hundred.

The Friendly Guide, shewing the Members of Gospel Churches their duties to each other, as required in scripture; recommended by the Rev. G. Burder. 1d. or 7s. per hundred.